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The Status of Women and Minorities and Communication section of the proceedings contains the following 14 papers: "Who Harasses Women Journalists? A Qualitative Look at Sexual Harassment among U.S. Newswomen" (Kim Walsh-Childers and others); "Not There Yet--Coverage of Women in Foreign News: A 1995 Multi-National Study" (Anat First and Donald L. Shaw); "'Somewhere between Average and Perfect': Women's Magazines and the Construction of Feminine Identity" (Susan Snyder); "Job Satisfaction in Advertising: A Gender Perspective" (James V. Pokrywczynski and John H. Crowley); "The Spiral of Silence and Its Impact on Feminist Voices in Public Opinion: A Case Study" (Sarah Wright Plaster); "Abortion, Moral Maturity, and Civic Journalism" (Maggie Jones Patterson and Megan Williams Hall); "Personal Comfort and Personal Care Products: A Survey of Women's Dependency on Advertising" (Sally J. McMillan and Debra Merskin); "Feminization of Asian (American) Men in U.S. Society and the Mass Media: An Analysis of 'The Ballad of Little Jo'" (Chiung Hwang Chen); "Power of the Press: How Newspapers in Four Communities Erased Thousands of Chinese from Oregon History" (Herman B. Chiu); "'Womanliness is an Attribute, Not a Condition': Conceptions of Civic Womanhood in the 'Woman's Era,' 1894-1897" (Janet M. Cramer); "Sending Up Signals: A Study of How Native Americans Use and Are Represented in the Mass Media" (Debra Merskin); "Negro-Appeal Radio Stations Using a Rhythm-and-Blues Music Format, 1947-1963" (Jack L. Ortizano); "Media Use Habits of African-Americans in a Small Midwestern City" (Earnest L. Perry); and "Entrepreneurial Images of African Americans in Advertising: An Examination of Black Enterprise Magazine" (Kristen A. Radden and Kevin L. Keenan). Individual papers contain references. (CR)

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Who Harasses Women Journalists?
A Qualitative Look at Sexual Harassment Among U.S. Newswomen

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Who Harasses Women Journalists?
A Qualitative Look at Sexual Harassment Among U.S. Newswomen

ABSTRACT

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This paper describes a qualitative analysis of answers to open-ended questions in a survey of 227 female reporters, editors, photographers and graphic artists working at daily newspapers in the United States. The analysis showed that the most serious instances of sexual harassment respondents reported involved harassment by a supervisor. Most of the incidents women described would fall into the "hostile environment" category; few supervisors tried anything as blatant as offering advancement to women in exchange for sexual favors or threatening women who refused. Among women harassed by sources, the most problematic group of contacts seemed to be those involved in law enforcement -- police officers, sheriffs and sheriff's deputies, state highway patrol officers, and district attorneys. The female journalists participating in this study responded to harassment either by confronting their harassers directly, complaining to their own or their harasser's supervisor, or doing nothing. It seems clear that women who dealt with the problem aggressively often got the best results and felt more satisfied with the outcome. The majority of respondents seemed to feel their newspapers had responded well to complaints about sexual harassment. A significant number said they did not believe there had been any such complaints in their workplace, although some of them felt confident that their newspapers' managers would deal with the problems satisfactorily. On the other hand, a substantial group of women indicated that the male managers at their newspapers would "laugh off" complaints about sexual harassment or talk to the person who complained but take not action against the harasser.

Who Harasses Women Journalists?

A Qualitative Look at Sexual Harassment Among U.S. Newswomen

During the first half of the 1990s, U.S. newspapers and other media devoted a significant amount of space to the issue of sexual harassment. Coverage of Oklahoma law professor Anita Hill's allegations of sexual harassment by then-Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas, the Navy's Tailhook scandal and Senator Bob Packwood's sexual misconduct brought the issue to the forefront of national attention and to the front pages of most, if not all, of the nation's daily newspapers.

For female journalists throughout the country, the issue of sexual harassment was more than just a story, however; like Hill, the female Navy officers and the women subjected to Packwood's unwanted advances, many newswomen were confronting sexual harassment as a problem in their own workplaces and in their relationships with sources and other professional contacts. For instance, in 1992, an Associated Press Managing Editors' survey of 640 journalists in 19 small, medium and large newsrooms around the United States revealed that although most men surveyed tended to say there was no sexual harassment problem at their newspapers, women said it is a potential, if not specific problem, and that it is neither reported nor punished in most instances (Kossan, 1992). The survey also showed that:

*only 30 percent of the respondents said their newspaper had clear guidelines for filing internal complaints about sexual harassment;

*95 percent of the victims of sexual harassment are women;

*2 percent of the men and 11 percent of the women said sexual harassment or the fear of harassment has affected their daily work habits;

*half of those who said they had been sexually harassed said the harassment was in the form of annoying or degrading comments about sex.

While the most prevalent form of harassment was annoying or degrading comments about sex, followed by offensive pictures or posters and annoying or degrading comments about women's bodies, the APME study found that women also reported having male associates grab their breasts and buttocks or make "jokes" to them about rape (Kossan, 1993).

Writing about the study in a membership newsletter, Pam Johnson, then managing editor of The Phoenix Gazette and chairwoman of the APME Newsroom Management Committee, observed:

> Women in our newsrooms are impatient. They don't want to get ogled. They don't want to receive sex-related messages in their computers; they don't want to be put in the place of laughing off a sexual joke or challenging it and then having to pay for being forthright. And they definitely don't want to be fondled. But it's clear many feel vulnerable to any or all of these situations (Johnson, 1993, p. 11).

Flatow (1994) found that more than two-thirds of women working in the newsrooms of Indiana daily newspapers had indeed found themselves "vulnerable" to sexual harassment. In her survey of full-time editorial employees working at 26 Indiana dailies, Flatow (1994) found that 6.6 percent of the men had experienced physical sexual harassment at some point during their careers, and the same percentage of men reported experiencing verbal sexual harassment. Among women, however, 22.4 percent had experienced physical sexual harassment and 61.8 percent reported experiencing verbal sexual harassment; nearly a third of the women reported "nonverbal" sexual harassment, which included making sexual gestures with hands or through body movements, giving personal gifts and other inappropriate non-contact behaviors.

One recent study of women journalists in Washington, D.C., showed that 60 percent of the women accredited to the Capitol press gallery reported having been sexually harassed. The researchers, Katherine McAdams and Maurine Beasley, surveyed 273 women journalists and received responses from 37 percent. Of those who responded, 80 percent said they believe sexual harassment is a problem for women journalists. McAdams and Beasley (1994) argue that the issue of sexual harassment among women journalists needs to be investigated and brought into the open so that individual women no longer have to deal with the problem alone.

At the time of their study, Beasley and McAdams noted that they had found only one previous newsroom survey about sexual harassment. That study, conducted for the newspaper trade publication NewsInc., showed that 44 percent of the 199 newswomen surveyed had experienced sexual harassment on the job. That figure was twice the number of women in all fields reporting harassment in a 1991 Newsweek/Gallup Poll (McAdams & Beasley, 1994).

On the other hand, many researchers have found that sexual harassment of women is widespread throughout academia (Adams, J.W., Kottke, J.L., & Padgitt, J.S., 1983; Andsager, Nagy, & Bailey, 1994; Benson & Thomson, 1982; Hughes & Sandler, 1986; Kreps, 1992; Wood, 1992), and other studies have suggested that more than half of all working women have experienced some form of sexual harassment in their careers (Farley, 1978; Fitzgerald & Schullman, 1993; Fitzgerald, et al., 1988; Jaschik and Maypole, 1991; U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1981). Merit Systems Protection Board, 1981; Moynahan, 1993)

More recently, Bowen and Laurion (1994) studied sexual harassment among mass communication professionals. Among their sample of 52 female and 44 male respondents, the authors found that 32 percent had experienced sexual harassment as students, 49 percent had experienced sexual harassment as interns in a mass communication organization, and 65 percent had experienced sexual harassment during their professional careers.

Finally, earlier analysis of data from the study described in this paper demonstrated that sexual harassment is indeed a problem for the majority of women journalists at U.S. daily newspapers. About 60 percent of the women included in this national survey said sexual harassment is at least somewhat a problem for women journalists (reporters, photographers, editors and graphic artists), and more than one in 10 (11.5 percent) said sexual harassment is a significant or very serious problem for women journalists. Lower percentages reported having substantial trouble with sexual harassment in their own careers; nonetheless, more than one-third (36.1 percent) said sexual harassment had been at least somewhat a problem for them personally, and 17 women (7.5 percent) reported having had significant or serious problems with sexual harassment during their careers.

Respondents also were asked to indicate how often they personally had been subjected to two types of sexual harassment – harassment that did not involve physical contact (sexual comments, jokes, leering, etc.) and harassment that did involve physical contact (unwanted touching, etc.) – from a variety of types of professional contacts.[1]

When harassment by specific categories of professional contacts was analyzed, the results indicated that news sources were the most likely to harass women journalists both physically and without making physical contact. More than 44 percent of the women reported that sources at least sometimes subjected them to non-physical sexual harassment, and about 6 percent reported physical sexual harassment by sources at least sometimes. More than one-fourth of the women ever had experienced physical sexual harassment by a news source, and more than 70 percent of the women had experienced non-physical sexual harassment by a source.[2]

Overall, at least one-fourth of the women said they experienced non-physical sexual harassment at least sometimes from their supervisors or others in positions of authority over them (25.1 percent) and from co-workers at their same level (29.1 percent), and nearly one-fourth experienced such harassment from subordinates (23.6 percent) or in other professional settings (22.5 percent). Almost 5 percent had been physically harassed at least sometimes by their supervisors and same-level peers.

While these results give us a general indication of which types of professional contacts are most likely to sexually harass women journalists, it seems useful as well to know more specifics about the perpetrators of harassment and their behaviors. For instance, what types of news sources are most likely to have harassed women journalists? Or, when newsroom co-workers harass women journalists, is the harassment normally what the courts have labelled "quid pro quo harassment"—that is, threats of punishment or offers of advantages linked to providing sexual favors—or does the harassment more commonly reflect a "hostile environment?"

Another important issue is how women journalists react to harassment; do they ignore it, confront the harasser directly, file a formal complaint with their employer, or take some other approach? And when women do complain about harassment in the newsroom or by sources, how do newspaper managers respond? Are female journalists satisfied that their employers pay serious attention to the issue of sexual harassment, or are charges of harassment dismissed as hypersensitivity?

The purpose of this paper, then, is to explore sexual harassment of women journalists in more depth; we reason that the more newspaper managers understand about how harassment occurs, the better able they will be to deal with instances of harassment when they arise.

Through qualitative analysis of women's answers to open-ended questions about their experiences with sexual harassment, this paper seeks answers to the following research questions:

1. What kinds of supervisors, co-workers and news sources sexually harass women journalists? In particular, are reporters and photographers more likely to experience harassment in certain "beat" areas?

2. How do women typically respond to harassment, and does their response to the harassment (i.e. direct confrontation versus ignoring the incident) influence their feelings about the outcome of the incident?

3. When women journalists complain about sexual harassment by co-workers or by news sources, how do newspaper managers typically respond?

Methods

Female reporters, photographers, editors and graphic artists were randomly selected for participation in the survey using a multi-level stratified sampling procedure. First, the researchers drew separate samples of small, medium and large newspapers (72 small, 32 medium and 16 large newspapers). We then contacted a newsroom manager (usually the managing editor) at each newspaper included in the samples and asked him or her to send us a list of all the female reporters, editors, photographers and graphic artists on the newspaper's staff, including those working at bureaus. After obtaining these lists, the lists were arranged in random order, and we then randomly selected names from the lists. This procedure ultimately produced a final sample of 208 women from small newspapers (daily circulation less than 25,000), 184 women from mid-sized newspapers (daily circulation of 25,001-100,000) and 190 women from large newspapers (daily circulation greater than 100,000).

After all the names had been chosen, we sent each sample member a letter describing our project and requesting her cooperation.[3] The letter also informed sample members that only female students or faculty members would be conducting the study interviews and assured them that, in reports of the research, we would identify individuals only in very general terms, such as "a reporter from a mid-sized Southeastern newspaper." Interviewers first called each sample member to arrange an appropriate time and place to complete the interview; any woman who did not feel comfortable discussing the subject in her work environment was asked for a home telephone number and called at home. The first part of each interview was conducted using a computer-assisted telephone interviewing program. Interviewers subsequently asked each participant for more details about her experiences, using a schedule of open-ended questions; all participants provided answers to the open-ended questions as well as the computer-assisted section of the survey.

Our goal had been to include about 100 women from each size of newspapers in the final survey, and we had anticipated that we would need approximately twice as many women in the initial sample to account for refusals to participate, ineligible respondents, sample members who never could be reached, etc. The most serious difficulty we encountered turned out to be contacting sample members, particularly those from the large and mid-sized newspapers, before they left their jobs, often for employment outside newspapers. Once we had contacted sample members, refusals to participate in the survey were quite rare. Of the 582 women included in the original sample, we ultimately made some type of contact with 396, although in 85 cases, we only learned that the woman no longer worked at that newspaper. Of the 311 women our interviewers did speak with, only 33 refused to participate, for an unusually low refusal rate of 10.6 percent. Eighty-four other women were contacted and agreed to participate, but could not be interviewed because of scheduling difficulties or some other problem.

Not surprisingly, the largest number of respondents were reporters (39 percent). Eleven percent of the respondents were copy editors, 15 percent were section editors (i.e. editors of features, business or sports sections), and 4 percent were city editors or assistant city editors. Fourteen respondents (6.2 percent) were news editors, and an equal number described themselves as editors[4]. Six of the repondents (2.6 percent) held managing editor or assistant managing editor positions, and another six were photographers. The remainder of the sample were graphic artists (4.4 percent), photo editors (1.8 percent), editorial writers or columnists (1.8 percent), held some other position (1.8 percent) or gave no title (3.5 percent).

To answer the research questions, two independent coders read through all respondents' answers to the open-ended questions. They then met to compare impressions about the themes that emerged from the interviews in relation to each of the research questions listed above.

Results

The first research question was aimed at discovering more specifically which kinds of professional contacts were most likely to harass female reporters, photographers, editors and graphic artists. The answer was derived from analysis of women's responses to two questions. Women who indicated that they had experienced sexual harassment during their newspaper careers were asked to "describe briefly the most serious or most disturbing instance of sexual harassment." In addition, all women were asked if they wanted to describe any other instance of sexual harassment involving themselves personally or other co-workers.

As noted earlier, the quantitative analysis revealed that women were most likely to have experienced harassment by news sources; more than 44 percent of the women reported that sources at least sometimes subjected them to non-physical sexual harassment, and about 6 percent reported physical sexual harassment by sources at least sometimes. In contrast, about one-fourth of the women experienced non-physical sexual harassment at least sometimes from their supervisors or others in positions of authority over them (25.1 percent), from co-workers at their same level (29.1 percent), and from subordinates (23.6 percent). Almost 5 percent had been physically harassed at least sometimes by their supervisors and same-level peers.

However, when asked to describe the most disturbing instance of sexual harassment they had experienced, the respondents most commonly described instances of harassment involving co-workers inside the newsroom. Often these incidents were described only in general terms; women noted that "co-workers" often told offensive sexual jokes or made other sex-oriented comments to them. In some cases, women mentioned co-workers—particularly those in composing room or production areas—keeping sex-oriented calendars or posters on their walls, making lewd remarks to women who came into their work areas or engaging in other kinds of harassment. One woman, for instance, described a continuing problem she had had at another newspaper, earlier in her career. The newsroom was on the second floor of the building, and whenever she was walking up the stairs, the composing room foreman would rush over to the stairs to look up her dress. Two other specific problem areas seemed to be the photography darkroom and the sports department. One woman noted that members of the sports department "keep up a constant chatter of sexual innuendoes and real sexual talk;" she added that these co-workers always speak loudly to ensure that women in the news section can hear their comments. A night editor from a small paper reported that the newspaper's sports editor regularly comes by her desk and rubs her shoulders and touches her hair. When she finishes her work, she said, she sometimes asks if there's anything she can help him with because he has to deal with more late-breaking news. Her offer to help is greeted with more harassment: "He always—every single day—says, 'Yes, there is something you can do,'" and then laughs.

One woman woman noted that when she was an intern, one of the newspaper's photographers would follow her into the darkroom and show her "girlie" pictures. Another respondent said that at her newspaper, "when a woman and a man go into the darkroom, the men make oohs and aahs like something is going to happen."

The most serious incidents of sexual harassment often seemed to involve supervisors. For instance, one woman recalled that when she first began her current job, her supervisor, a married man, kept hinting that he wanted to go out with her. Several women mentioned being harassed by their supervisors at office parties; one editor invited a group of women from his newspaper to the managing editor's home and then suggested they all go "skinny-dipping" in the pool. One part-time reporter said her editor frequently made comments about a beauty contestant's breast size or the cut of her dress, commented on the breasts or legs of other women who came into the newsroom, told her she'd have to shave her legs to be hired full-time, and told another co-worker that the rape victim in a wire story "probably deserved it."

A journalist from a Southeastern newspaper reported that her manager once had called her at home and asked her to meet him at a lounge to discuss something work-related. "When I got there, he was really drunk, and he said, 'You want it, and you know you do.' I went out the fire escape to get out of there. When I left, I was fearful I had lost my job. But I think he was so drunk he didn't even remember doing it."

A reporter from a mid-sized newspaper in the Northeast had a similar experience with her newspaper's former chief editor. She and a male friend had run into the editor at a social event, and the editor had invited them back to a party at his apartment. The reporter and her friend decided to go, knowing that other co-workers would be there, and the editor offered to let the reporter drive his expensive sports car to the apartment, while her friend followed in his own car. "This man had always been very kind to me," she recalled. "I had no reason to expect anything." But after she got into the driver's seat, the editor began telling her that "the things he would like to do with me and to me would make him lose his job. He kept saying he was disturbed about the thoughts he was having about me." She got out of the car and didn't go to the party.

Another woman, now a managing editor, had the same kind of experience when she was a reporter. The man who was then managing editor took her to lunch to discuss changes in the office. He insisted on driving her in his car, and on the way back to the office, he took an indirect route so that he could tell her about the feelings he had for her. Both she and the managing editor were married, and both had children. "I was very uneasy about that," she said. "I thought that was extremely inappropriate. It made for a strained working relationship for a long time."

Yet another woman had a higher-level manager who was not her direct supervisor try to pressure her into having sex with him. "He point blank said to me that if I had an affair with him, I could get off night shift," she recalled.

Although the majority of respondents who discussed specific incidents of sexual harassment had had problems with newsroom co-workers, a number of women had had their worst experiences with news sources. News source problems seemed to occur most frequently among women covering the police beat or courts, although politicians, real estate salesmen, doctors, and other businessmen were mentioned, too. One reporter from a Texas daily said she often has to contend with crude comments from the county deputies, city marshals, or "other law enforcement or cowboy types." She was not surprised by this treatment; by way of explanation, she asked the interviewer, "Have you ever been to Texas?"

Another reporter said that before she married a well-known state trooper, her police beat sources, particularly the local sheriff, would make advances to her, often implying that she'd have greater access to information if she went out with them or spent time with them. A photographer had to fend off sexual advances while riding with the fire chief for a photo assignment. A police beat reporter for a small daily had been harassed by the assistant district attorney and by a police detective who tried to get her barred from coming into the detective division to do interviews after she refused to date him.

One police beat reporter from a small newspaper in a Mid-Atlantic state recounted two instances in which she went to a district attorney's office to conduct interviews and found him playing confiscated X-rated videotapes. He continued to watch them during the interviews, telling her, "We just got these tapes in, and I have to look at them." Not surprisingly, the woman found the experience unnerving.

> "It just didn't make sense that he would put them in the tape player. They're (videotape characters) having sex, totally nude, on TV. It was disturbing and uncomfortable."

The second research question concerned how women respond to harassment and whether their responses influence their satisfaction with the outcome. Because we had not asked a specific question about how women responded to their harassers, many respondents did not provide any information about their responses. However, among those women who did discuss their responses, there seemed to be three main camps—a direct confrontation with the harasser, complaining to the harasser's supervisor, or no response at all.

Women who confronted their harassers directly reported a number of different approaches. For instance, one reporter described an incident in which the governor's deputy press secretary jokingly invited two state troopers to strip-search her. After discussing the incident with her supervisor, she printed the press secretary's comments in a story. Another woman, who works for a large Midwestern newspaper, also dealt assertively with a bond trader who, while showing her a computer program he used, kept brushing his knee against her leg in a way she interpreted as suggestive; she also noted that, as staff members left the office about 5 p.m., each seemed to make a point of letting her know they were leaving. She, too, discussed the incident with her editor. With her editor's backing, she then called the bond trader to tell him that because of his inappropriate behavior, she would not use the interview in her story, nor would the newspaper ever use him as a source again.

Other women used less direct approaches to confronting their harassers. For instance, one woman whose married supervisor kept hinting he wanted to date her told him she was working on a story about sexual harassment in the workplace and asked if he knew what sexual harassment was. The same woman dealt with harassment by her newspaper's circulation director by waiting until he made a comment with the newspaper's owner standing nearby. She then told the circulation director that a married man like him shouldn't be saying such things because it could get him in trouble. After that, she had no further problems with him.

Women who confronted their harassers directly often seemed most satisfied with the outcome, and in some cases, those who complained to a supervisor had equal success. For instance, a woman from a mid-sized New England newspaper reported that her male co-workers once put up a poster showing a woman surrounded by 10 men, with the headline, "Put an end to rape. Say Yes."

> The poster was up for about five seconds, and I marched into the managing editor's office and asked him if he had seen it. He went back and took one look at it and immediately told them to take it down. In dealing with this stuff, the best thing to do is just go get a man with a brain in his head, as opposed to one of the ones with his brain between his legs.

Sometimes women acted together to deal with their harassers. For instance, the woman whose editor constantly made comments about women's breasts and legs joined with other women to complain to the newspaper publisher, who fired the editor. Another woman initially said nothing about the upper-level manager who had tried to persuade her to trade sex with him for better working hours, but later, after another employee filed a harassment complaint about the manager, the respondent was forced to tell her editor about her experiences. As a result, the harassing manager was dismissed.

Many women, however, said that they had done nothing to confront their harassers directly. In some cases, particularly in dealing with sources, they said they wished they had complained or believed they should have complained but felt powerless to do so. For instance, a police beat reporter who had a detective throw a pair of panties in her face and ask her what color underwear she was wearing said she just grabbed the panties and held them, saying nothing. "I believe a lot of women reporters seem to take the sexual harassing comments rather than alienating a source, like my situation with the detective. I did not confront him; to report it would have made it worse."

Another woman expressed the same feelings of helplessness in regard to harassment by co-workers, particularly supervisors. "When your job is on the line, you're powerless to do anything about it. And I'm not sure if you cried sexual harassment that you would have a job where I am."

Often women reported simply trying to avoid co-workers who harassed them. One woman noted that she came in to work at 5 a.m. to avoid having to work late with a city editor who kept pornographic magazines in a suitcase at his desk. She said female reporters often were accused of being late for deadlines because they would not work late with this editor. Other women changed their style of dress in an attempt to discourage co-workers' leering or suggestive comments.

In many cases, women who did not confront their harassers or file formal complaints seemed to regret their handling of the situations. For instance, the reporter who had to interview the district attorney while he was watching pornographic videotapes said she just kept asking questions, despite her discomfort. "I just ignored it. I probably should have asked him to turn it off, but I didn't. He's a pretty intimidating man anyway," she said.

Another woman said her supervisor at a previous newspaper often made unwanted comments to her, and when she asked him to stop, he laughed and told her she was too sensitive. She said she never complained to upper management about him but now wishes she had. Instead, she simply found another job.

The third research question concerned how respondents felt their newspaper's managers had responded to complaints about sexual harassment. Again, most responses seemed to fall into one of three camps—those who felt their newspapers responded well, those who felt their newspapers did not take the complaints seriously, and those who said they knew of no complaints.

Not surprisingly, women who knew of specific incidents in which a harasser had been reprimanded or even dismissed or who believed harassment would not be tolerated seemed most satisfied with their managers' responses. For instance, one woman, a manager herself, said that complaints about sexual harassment are "handled swiftly and correctly. A woman who worked for me told me of a (harassment) situation, and they handled it just like that." Other women said their supervisors would "take a very strong stand against it" or that management had "taken immediate action about complaints." One woman at a larger newspaper noted that, at her newspaper, complaints about harassment are taken seriously "because there is support from top management above the newsroom level." Yet another woman said a co-worker who pinched her on the buttocks "didn't last very long here. The management here has always been very strict about any blatant stuff. . . The policy is basically that it's just not tolerated."

Respondents sometimes attributed the satisfactory handling of sexual harassment complaints to the fact that women were in charge or in positions of authority. One respondent noted that her newspaper's female managing editor handles all complaints. "They have pretty much pounced on it," she said. Another said that if complaints were made, they'd be taken seriously by the publisher, a black woman. In fact, at least two women said the response to complaints about sexual harassment would depend on whether the supervisor was male or female. "If you go to one of the female supervisors, I think they listen, but I think the male supervisors blow it off as a woman's issue that is not really that important, that we're just complaining." Another respondent said women take their complaints to the personnel department instead of newsroom supervisors because the personnel director is female.

Perhaps a third of the women said their managers did not take seriously complaints about sexual harassment. The woman who was offended by the loud sexual jokes and comments from her newspaper's sports department, for instance, said she and her female co-workers complained to their boss, but he did nothing.

Another woman noted that no one in her newsroom is willing to complain to higher management because it's the publisher who makes offensive comments. One woman noted that after women in her newsroom complained about the editor, his behavior improved slightly, but he didn't stop making off-color jokes. "Now he's leaving to be editor at another paper within the same company."

One respondent said that at her newspaper, complaints about harassment "are pushed aside as personality conflicts. There is no policy visible." Another said her editor would listen to complaints about either sources or co-workers but then do nothing about them. "You can talk to the editor, and most of the time nothing is ever done," she said. "The editor does show concern, but he's the type of person who doesn't really seem to follow through." Another woman echoed those comments. "You can talk to management about it. They're real good about listening. After that, it seems like nothing's done."

These respondents sometimes felt that complaints about news source harassment would be equally likely to be ignored. One woman from a small newspaper said female reporters and photographers in her newsroom never would complain about harassment by sources because the supervisor to whom they'd have to complain "is the one person who makes women most uncomfortable in the newsroom." Another woman said complaining about source harassment actually could cause the reporter or photographer more trouble. "Management would be more worried about alienating the source than about helping the reporter," she said.

In many cases, women said they didn't know how their newspapers would respond to complaints about sexual harassment because as far as they knew, there had been no such complaints. Often these women seemed to have interpreted the term "complaint" to mean some sort of formal grievance or charge, rather than simply an employee's request for assistance with a problem.

Discussion

In summary, then, the most serious instances of sexual harassment respondents reported involved harassment by a supervisor. Most of the incidents women described would fall into the "hostile environment" category; few supervisors tried anything as blatant as offering advancement to women in exchange for sexual favors or threatening women who refused.

Although women also reported harassment by same-level or lower-level co-workers and by news sources, many seemed most unnerved when the harasser was a supervisor. This is hardly surprising; harassing co-workers and news sources may make the working environment uncomfortable and less productive, but women are not likely to perceive co-workers or sources as having as much power over them and their careers.

Nonetheless, co-workers and news sources often were mentioned as having sexually harassed women journalists. Again, most of these incidents could be classified as "hostile environment" harassment, but in a few instances, women reported that sources offered to trade information for sexual favors. Among women harassed by sources, the most problematic group of contacts seemed to be those involved in law enforcement or the judicial system—police officers, sheriffs and sheriff's deputies, state highway patrol officers, and district attorneys. This result probably is not surprising for any journalist who ever has worked around law enforcement officers. Indeed, some studies have indicated that male managers in certain kinds of workplaces—including police stations and law firms—view their workplaces as "unique environments, where sexual harassment can be excused" (Kossan, p. 3). Women who want to work in these traditionally male environments are expected to play by the boys' rules or not play at all.

The female journalists participating in this study responded to harassment either by confronting their harassers directly, complaining to their own or their harasser's supervisor, or doing nothing. Women who dealt with the problem aggressively often got the best results and felt more satisfied with the outcome. However, it is important to note that this finding does not mean that all female journalists who confront harassment directly will have satisfactory outcomes. In many cases, the women who did nothing to confront their harassers may have judged quite accurately that neither complaining to the harasser nor complaining to a supervisor would have helped at all. Indeed, many of the women who did complain noted that their supervisors did not take accusations of sexual harassment seriously or that they listened to the women's complaints but did nothing to end the harassment.

On the other hand, when asked how their newspaper's management responded to complaints about sexual harassment, the majority of respondents seemed to feel their newspapers had responded well. Many said they did not believe there had been any such complaints in their workplace, although some of them felt confident that their newspapers' managers would deal with the problems satisfactorily. On the other hand, other women indicated that the male managers at their newspapers would "laugh off" complaints about sexual harassment or talk to the person who complained but take no action against the harasser.

One explanation for the seeming discrepancy between the high percentage of women reporting sexual harassment experiences and the relatively high degree of satisfaction with newspapers' handling of the incidents may stem from the way the questions were asked. The respondents were asked to describe the "most serious or most disturbing" instance of sexual harassment they had experienced, allowing them to recall incidents that had occurred earlier in their careers; however, the question about management's response to harassment directed their attention to the policies of their current employer. Often women reported instances of sexual harassment that had occurred while they were working at other newspapers; in fact, some noted that sexual harassment contributed to their decision to leave previous employers. Thus it seems likely that fewer women would have reported harassment if they had been asked only about incidents at their current newspapers; similarly, had they been asked to evaluate the handling of sexual harassment incidents at previous newspapers, some may have been less satisfied.

However, it also is important to note that among women who had been harassed, how managers dealt with harassment complaints was crucial in determining respondents' satisfaction with their work environments. For instance, one woman from a large newspaper noted: "There's always room for improvement, and the philosophy here has been trying to work toward that. The fact that there have been these incidents is not a condemnation—it depends on what the company does with them."

Regardless of who's responsible for the harassment, it seems clear that sexual harassment is an issue newspaper managers must confront if they want to maintain the most productive working atmosphere. Indeed, Brown and Flatow (1995) concluded from an analysis of sexual harassment among Indiana journalists that workplace factors, including the open structure of most newsrooms and the high ratio of male to female workers, may facilitate harassing conduct. Judging from the comments of many of our respondents, it appears that one of the best ways to ensure that harassment is confronted—and that women perceive that their managers take a strong stand against it—is to move women into positions of authority. Although some respondents praised their male supervisors' efforts to eliminate sexual harassment, a number of women made specific mention of the fact that when women are in positions of power, sexual harassment is less likely to be tolerated.

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[1] Women were asked about harassment by supervisors or others in positions of authority, same-level co-workers, lower-level co-workers, news sources, employees of news sources, and any other professional contacts. For each type of contact, women were asked whether they had experienced physical and non-physical harassment never, rarely, sometimes, often, or nearly always or always.

[2] The first figure reflects women who indicated that sources harassed them sometimes, often or nearly always or always. The second set of percentages includes those who selected "rarely" as the answer to the question about source harassment.

[3] Because we wished to complete the survey within groups (small, medium and large), we delayed mailing the study description letters to women until we were ready to begin interviewing women from that group. Women from small newspapers began receiving letters during the summer of 1993. Due to difficulties mustering enough volunteers to complete the interviews, we were unable to begin surveying women from the mid-sized and larger newspapers until the Spring of 1994.

[4] Some of these women may have been copy editors rather than the highest-ranking editor on the staff.

NOT THERE YET

Coverage of Women in Foreign News: A 1995 Multi-National Study

by

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Abstract

This study summerizes how women are portrayed by the press in a 1995 study including 41 countries. Women are rarely presented as main actors in stories related to international, political or economic issues. We also find that women tend to be similarly excluded from the news broadcasts of both "Western" and "Patriarchal" countries. Using the second dimension of agenda-setting, we argue that women's absence from news broadcasts reflects their absence from the public sphere.

NOT THERE YET:

COVERAGE OF WOMEN IN FOREIGN NEWS A 1995 MULTI-NATIONAL STUDY

The most prominent institution that creates "the pictures in our head" about the public sphere is the news media (Shaw and McCombs, 1993). In media news, women are mostly absent (Steeves, 1993). According to Gallagher, no country with available data reported that more than 20% of the news was about women, and in most cases, the figure was much lower (1981). Steeves (1993) argues that little has changed since 1981. She claims that "Most existing news about women is trivial - related to family status or appearance. Where important women's activities are covered, they are often simultaneously undermined or demeaned" (Steeves 1993, p. 41).

Walter Lippmann, a pioneer in developing the ideas about different realities, was also one of the first to apply those notions to the field of mass communication. In *Public Opinion* (1922), Lippmann discussed the role of the media in the process of the social construction of an individual's reality. Lippmann distinguished between the world that actually exists out there, and the "pseudo" environment - that is, our private perception of the world, often influenced by the media. Although he planted the seeds of the theory, the broader systematic work on the social construction of reality began in the 1960's with Schutz (1967), Berger and Luckmann (1967), and others. This line of research has implications for women. This study summarizes how women are portrayed in the press in a sample of 41 countries

WOMEN AND THE NEWS AGENDA

Some feminist approaches to coverage of women, based on critical thinking, see the media's power originating from cultural domination (Williams, 1977). These approaches attempt to expose the primary assumptions that construct the governing political and social order. From a feminist point of view, the separation between the two spheres, public and private - a separation that reflects unequal distribution by gender - creates a dichotomous world of images, roles and expectations for men and women (Herzog, 1994). In this, press is important.

According to the traditional, libertarian theory, democracy requires that the mass media represent the full range of views in society. Today, the mass media, especially the news broadcasts, are the major forces in creating and maintaining the public sphere. Thus, one important function of the news is to retain a public sphere - open and accessible to all - as a key component of modern, participatory democratic life.

Women's access to the public sphere can be measured by analyzing the content of the news. For instance, researchers might ask how women in the news are portrayed or how many stories on the network news highlight women. As an illustration, in the United States of America, the percentage of stories focusing on women as the main "actor" was: 13.7% of ABC's news stories, 10.2% of CBS's stories, and 8.9% of NBC's stories (Lont, 1995). In general, "women were rarely the subject or focus of interviews on the nightly news." (Lont, 1995, pp. 221) In India, until few years ago, women were never mentioned in the press. Today there is more coverage of women, but most of it is negative, such as when women are victims in rape cases (Media Report To Women, 1996).

Another way to assess the representation of women in the public sphere is to look at the production of the news. Until recently, television news, much like radio news, was relatively closed to most women in the United States of America This began to change in 1991 when "Not only were there more women reporting, but the majority of women by 1992 had moved into the ranks of the top 100 correspondents." (Foote, 1995) In general, there are still fewer women than men in high-powered positions in American television news, and women reporters are outnumbered by male reporters by almost 4 to 1. (Lont, 1995)

In the body of research dealing with women and the public sphere, we find literature about the hegemonic model, which excludes women from many "public" domains and reproduces gender inequality, in both theory and everyday life. Women frame their existence in a reality dominated by this ideology - or so goes the argument. The private sphere refers to the "closed" worlds of the personal, biographical and domestic, whereas the public sphere relates to the "open" spaces of work, politics, mass media and international affairs. (O'Sullivan et al., 1994) In the simplest terms, the public sphere is the "realm of our social life in which citizens confer about matters of general interest."

(Hallin, 1994, p. 20)

We accept the notion that the existing social order distinguishes between the public and private spheres. This order has as a premise that politics, by its nature, is part of the public sphere, and power, as traditionally defined, is control over the institutions and organizations that are practicing politics (Hezog, 1994). Liberal political theories see the political system as an arena in which various groups compete in order to represent different interests. Believing that equal rights and opportunities have to be preserved, liberal theory maintains that women should have equal opportunity to be part of the public sphere.

CONSTRUCTING REALITY: THE "SECOND DIMENSION" OF AGENDA SETTING

Agenda-setting research has argued that the press seems to *tell* people what to think *about*, although not what to think. But recently, McCombs has found that the way messages are framed *does*, in fact, seem to tell people somewhat *how* to think about news topics (McCombs, 1995).

The idea of the second dimension of agenda-setting is that "beyond the agenda of objects there is also another dimension to consider. Each of these objects has numerous attributes, those characteristics and properties that fill out the picture of each object. Just as objects vary in salience, so do the attributes of each object." (McCombs, 1995, p.6)

Thus "How news frames impact the public agenda is the emerging second dimension of agenda setting." (McCombs, 1995, p.6) The interesting question about the second dimension of agenda setting concerns the transmission of attributes; specifically, through what process does the transmission of attributes occur? We suggest that the second dimension of agenda-setting can be understood best as a process of reality construction - that is, how news messages frame the women they cover.

Here, we use the second dimension to analyze the appearance of women in newspapers and international broadcasts news. The second dimension argument enables us to explore the perspectives and frames in which women are presented in news broadcasts. First we ask how often the are women in the news? Then, how are they presented? Through salient attributes of women's presentation in the news, the media constructs the "pictures in our head" about women in the public sphere.

STUDY QUESTIONS

We ask, using a sample of the world press: 1) are women more likely to be presented on issues about the private sphere than the public sphere; 2) do more women appear in news stories in "Western" countries than in news stories from "Patriarchal" countries, and 3) finally, are women journalists more likely to write about women's issues?

METHOD

Sample

The "Foreign News and International News Flow" project* sample consisted of 7,474 international news stories taken from 143 newspapers or broadcasts (both television and radio) from 41 countries(see list in appendix 1). These data were collected for two days Sunday, May 7, 1995, and Saturday , May 8 - the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II.

Data collectors in each participating country** were asked to choose not more than ten media sources, and to emphasize stories from newspapers and just two or three broadcast programs. For example, in Israel the selected media sources were: 1)"Ha'aretz," a newspaper widely read by government officials and other elites ; 2)"Yediot Achronot," the leading popular newspaper; 3) "Reshet B," a "public" radio station with several news programs; 4) "Galey-Zahal", a popular radio station, controlled by the army. The data collection team chose two out of three main news programs from each radio station; the length of each program is at least one and a half - hour long each day (in the morning, at noon and in late afternoon) and one hour foreign news magazine (in the afternoon.); 5) "Mabat," the nightly television national main newscast (length of one hour from 20.00 to

*Thanks to professor Robert L. Stevenson from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, who is one of the initiators of this project and in charge on the quantitative part, for providing the data.

**Moslty the data collectors were professors and student.

21.00); and 6) "Channel 2," complementary newscast on the commercial television network. There are only two Hebrew television channels in Israel, one public and one commercial.

We used the entire sample to answer both our first and third question, how are women likely to be presented and about what do women journalist write?. To answer our second question about women being more likely to appear in news stories in "Western" countries than in news stories from "Patriarchal" countries, we divided part of the 41 countries into nine geographical groups. The division was mostly accord geographical locations: 1)the USA; 2) Latin America (Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela); 3) Scandinavia (Norway, and Finland); 4) Western Europe (Austria, Germany, and Netherlands); 5) Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovenia, and the Ukraine); 6) Africa (Kenya, Nigeria, and Cameroon); 7) the Middle East (Israel, Kuwait, and Lebanon); 8) Far East 1 (China and India); and 9) Far East 2 (Japan, Taiwan, and Hong Kong). We divided the Far East into two groups based on their economics and modernization level.

Content Analysis

The quantitative codebook for this study is an expanded version of the codebook used in an international from made twenty years ago (for details see Stevenson, 1984, pp. 21-36). The revised codebook includes 28 variables: Name of the country, medium, date, focus of the story, sources, gender of correspondents, dateline, most important country (the first three), main topic (first three), four types of events, main actor, gender of the three main actors, prominence, and specific events. One of the new variables added to the 1995 study is gender.

Coding Procedures.

The data analysis team in each country received the international codebook and some examples of how to analyze the news. In Israel, for example, at the beginning of April, 1995, Hill Nosek* assembled a team that included lecturers, supervisors, and others who handled various technical aspects of the project (for instance, translating the codebook into Hebrew). The coders were students at the New School of Journalism in the College of Management in Tel Aviv. The Israeli team began by practicing news (from all the media) with the student' coders working in deferent classes under the supervision of at least one of the research team. During these classes we discussed with the students the coding instructions and problems not covered by the instructions. After reaching an acceptable level of intercoder reliability, coders began to work on the two-day news sample. Much of the coding was mechanical. The difficult variables were the topics, focus of the story, prominence, and various types of events. Coders and supervisors worked together to resolve difficulties.

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* Hill Nosek is the Israeli partner in the Study of "Foreign News and International News Flow".

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

We present the results in three sections that reflect the questions asked earlier.

Question 1

In general, few stories from the major news broadcasts throughout the world present women as the main actors. Women had this role in only 8% of the leading topics of the news stories sampled. Table 1 shows that women were mostly absent in the majority of the topics. Not surprisingly, women tended to appear in news related to the private sphere (for example, entertainment/personalities, 25%, human rights, 22%), while they nearly vanished as main actors in news related to the public sphere (for example, international politics, 4%; international economics/trade, 1%; and globalization/internationalization, 0%). Women were main actors frequently only in news that related to gender issues (41%).

Our paper focuses on two days in May, when the celebration of the end of the Second World War took place all over the world, especially in those countries that had been involved in the war. Looking at the type of stories that can be related to Second World War, we find that women were absent. For example, No woman were main actors in the topic of history. Evidently war is a male "business" and women are excluded from it - at least in most of the news coverage of the end of the war.

Table 1

Rounded Percentages of the Gender of the Main Actor by Main Topic of the News Story Across All Countries

	Gender of Main Actor				
	Not Given	Male	Female	Both	Total
Main Topic of story					
None	38	48	14	0	100
International Politics	30	64	4	2	100
International Economics/Trade	53	45	1	1	100
International military/Defense/conflict	37	54	5	4	100
International Aid/Development	48	47	4	1	100
Domestic Politics	33	67	2	2	100
Domestic Economics	62	33	3	2	100
Social Services/Problems/Education	51	37	7	5	100
Crime/Justice/Police	56	38	2	4	100
Cultural/Art/History/Performance/Review	38	48	10	4	100
Sport	28	61	9	2	100
Entertainment/Personalities	10	60	25	5	100
Oddities/Animals/Human Interest	39	35	18	8	100
Energy/Conservation/Environment	74	23	3	0	100
Natural/Disasters/Accident/Weather	74	19	2	5	100
Civil War/Domestic Conflict	61	32	4	3	100
Religion	45	44	4	7	100
Human Rights	28	44	22	6	100
Globalization/Internationalization	47	47	0	6	100
Migration/Immigration	57	25	5	3	100
Gender Issues	29	30	21	0	100
Ethnic Issues/identity/Politics/Assimilation	49	40	4	7	100
History/Historical Feature	50	50	0	0	100
Science/Technology	50	38	12	0	100
Other	50	37	10	4	100

Question 2

According to libertarian theory, democracy requires that news media be open and accessible to all. Yet, some regimes tend to restrict media accessibility for cultural and political reasons. Western countries use democratic ideas about the media more than other countries. We grouped the countries according to geography, but this also, in many cases, reflects cultural and political divisions. We are nonetheless aware that our organization could be done in different ways because of the difficulties in grouping cultures. One challenge of our groupings, for example, is that to include Israel with Kuwait and Lebanon, combines countries that are very different in their regimes and culture.

Prior to analysis, assumed that women would appear more in "Western" countries' news, than in "Patriarchal" countries, in which men have long dominated political religious or cultural life. Table 2 shows that our hypothesis was not supported - women were not part of the news anywhere. Looking at the gender as main "actor" (female and both) in the news, we find that only Scandinavia reached 20% female. On the other end, the Middle East, the Far East (Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong) and Eastern Europe had the lowest percentages. These findings may reflect the notion that some of the countries are young democracies. Moreover, in some of the countries, women's status may be more affected by culture than by formal democracy.

In addition, across all the countries, women appeared as the main actors in only 7% of the long stories, in only 7% of medium-length stories, and only in just 5% of the short

TABLE 2

Percentage* of the Gender of the Main Actors and the Prominence of the News Stories by Countries

	Gender as Main Actor			Prominence Story length for women and both		
Country	Man	female	both genders	long	medium	short
USA	55	7	2	4	7	9
Latin America	55	4	7	5	5	3
Western Europe	42	6	6	4	4	8
Scandinavia	52	11	9	8	13	9
Eastern Europe	53	4	0	7	4	5
Africa	70	6	2	5	7	5
Middle East	58	3	1	2	3	4
Far East 1	63	10	0	15	11	2
Far East	48	4	1	9	5	2

*Rounded

stories. Only India (Far East group 1) exceeded 20% of women as the main actors in the news.

We further analyzed the type of news stories in which women are the main actors. Our categories were: news (with or without picture), picture only, editorial/commentary, letter, and cartoon. Women were included as main actors in 6%, of news and 6% editorial/commentaries, and they appeared in 14% of the pictures and 2% of the letters.

No woman was the subject of a cartoon. Usually cartoons about international issues describe political situations. Since women tend to be excluded from politics, their chances of being the subject of a cartoon is minimal.

Our findings corroborate other research regarding the portrayal of women in the news. We agree with Steeves' assessment that in news, women were mostly absent in the 1980's, and nothing much has changed since then.(Steeves, 1993) American news stories show the same trend as the news in other nations.

Question 3

Another way to examine women's accessibility to the public sphere is by focusing on the gender of the correspondents and by cross-referencing their gender with the subjects they covered (according to the public sphere vs. the private sphere distinction).

Women correspondents were by-lined in news stories infrequently: in the USA, 18%; Latin America, 18%; Western Europe, 8%; Scandinavia, 13%; Eastern Europe, 13%, Africa, 18%; Middle East, 6; Far East (1), 3%; and Far East (2), 4%. In general, less than 20% of the news correspondents were women.

A second dimension in understanding how women news correspondents frame their existence in the public sphere is to examine the subjects of the stories they cover. Table 3 shows that women tended to cover stories that are considered most appropriate for women. Women covered more gender issues (31%) and culture stories (15%) than international issues (international politics, 7%; international economics and trade, 5%; or international defense and conflict issues 7%).

Table 3

Rounded Percentages of the Gender of the Correspondent by Main Topic of the News Story Across All Countries

	Gender of Correspondent				
	Not Given	Male	Female	Both	Total
Main Topic of Story					
None	62	24	14	0	100
International Politics	61	31	7	1	100
International Economics/Trade	67	28	5	0	100
International military/Defense/conflict	64	28	7	1	100
International Aid/Development	57	34	9	0	100
Domestic Politics	59	31	9	1	100
Domestic Economics	70	25	5	0	100
Social Services/Problems/Education	64	25	11	0	100
Crime/Justice/Police	77	18	5	0	100
Cultural/Art/History/Performance/Review	49	34	15	2	100
Sport	70	27	3	0	100
Entertainment/Personalities	67	24	9	0	100
Oddities/Animals/Human Interest	79	16	3	2	100
Energy/Conservation/Environment	70	23	5	0	100
Natural/Disasters/Accident/Weather	84	12	4	0	100
Civil War/Domestic Conflict	71	24	4	1	100
Religion	68	25	5	2	100
Human Rights	58	34	8	0	100
Globalization/Internationalization	68	16	16	0	100
Migration/Immigration	62	32	6	0	100
Gender Issues	50	19	31	0	100
Ethnic Issues/identity/Politics/Assimilation	59	34	4	3	100
History/Historical Feature	100	0	0	0	100
Science/Technology	100	0	0	0	100
Other	54	35	10	4	100

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As we show, women are mostly absent from news broadcasts and news stories all over the world. By using the second dimension of agenda-setting, we argue that women are rarely presented as main actors in stories related to international issues or political or economic matters. Their absence from news broadcasts reflects their lack of participation in the public sphere, which means that their ability to be presented equally in the democratic process is low.

We find that this gender gap typifies news broadcasts in both "Western" countries and "Patriarchal" countries. Our results draw attention to gender-specific divisions of labor and forms of power that have been established and reinforced by this dimension of the media's agenda. In addition, the low percentages of women portrayed as main actors in the news all over the world suggest that a major step towards democratic life would consist of broadening women's role in the public sphere.

Differences in the appearance of female correspondents among countries can be explained partly by cultural reasons and economics factors. For example, in the United States of America, women's jobs in the network news depend on their salary demands, their age, and in some cases, their appearance (Lont, 1995). We also show that women reporters tend to cover women issues, which tend to be limited to the private sphere. Thus, the picture of women excluded from the public sphere is reproduced.

A THEORETICAL MODEL

Why is this type of research about women important? Because what we see, often, is what we believe, and that can be as powerful as "reality". There for the news picture of women may influence the abiltiy to enter the public sphere.

Alfred Schutz was fascinated by what he regarded as the mysteries of everyday existence. Just how do we make sense of the world around us so that we structure and coordinate our daily actions? How can we do this with such ease that we do not even realize that we are doing it? Relying upon phenomenological notions, developed in Europe, Schutz asked his students at the New School for Social Research in New York to set aside their commonsense, taken-for-granted explanations of what they do in order to recognize that everyday life is actually much more complicated than they assumed. Schutz argued that we can conduct our lives with little effort or thought because we have developed stocks of social knowledge that we use to make sense of what goes on around us quickly and then structure our actions accordingly. One of the most important forms of knowledge that we process is "typifications", that enable us quickly to classify objects and actions that we have observed and then structure our own actions in response (Baran and Davis,1995).

Schutz's ideas were elaborated in *The Social Construction of Reality,* written by sociologists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1967). In explaining how reality is socially constructed, Berger and Luckmann assume that: "There is an ongoing correspondence between *my* meanings and *their* meanings in the world that we share a common sense about its reality" (p.23). In order to understand one another, people have to share symbols and their meaning. There is a correspondence among people when they share the same common sense about the reality of the object being symbolized; they have a common symbolic reality stemming from their shared understanding of the symbols they experience..

But Berger and Luckmann recognize that there is another kind of meaning that individuals, attach to things in their nearest environments, and that is subjective rather then objective. In fact, they identify three types of reality that interact dialectically:

(1) The objective social reality that exists outside vis-a-vis the individual. People experience this reality as the objective world, which confront them as facts. They apprehend this reality in a common sense fashion as reality par excellence - as a reality that does not need further verification over and beyond its simple existence. Although human beings are capable of doubting this reality, they are obliged to suspend such doubt in order to perform the routine actions that ensure both their own existence and their interaction with others.

(2) The symbolic reality, which arises from socially shared meaning based on any form of symbolic expression such as art, literature or media contents.

3) The subjective reality, where both objective and symbolic realities merge to serve as an impute for the construction of the individual's own subjective reality.

Therefore. Berger and Luckmann define the process of reality-construction as a social process due to social interaction with either an objective or symbolic character. It is a dialectical process in which the individual simultaneously creates, and is a product of his social environment (Adoni and Mane, 1984; Baran and Davis, 1995).

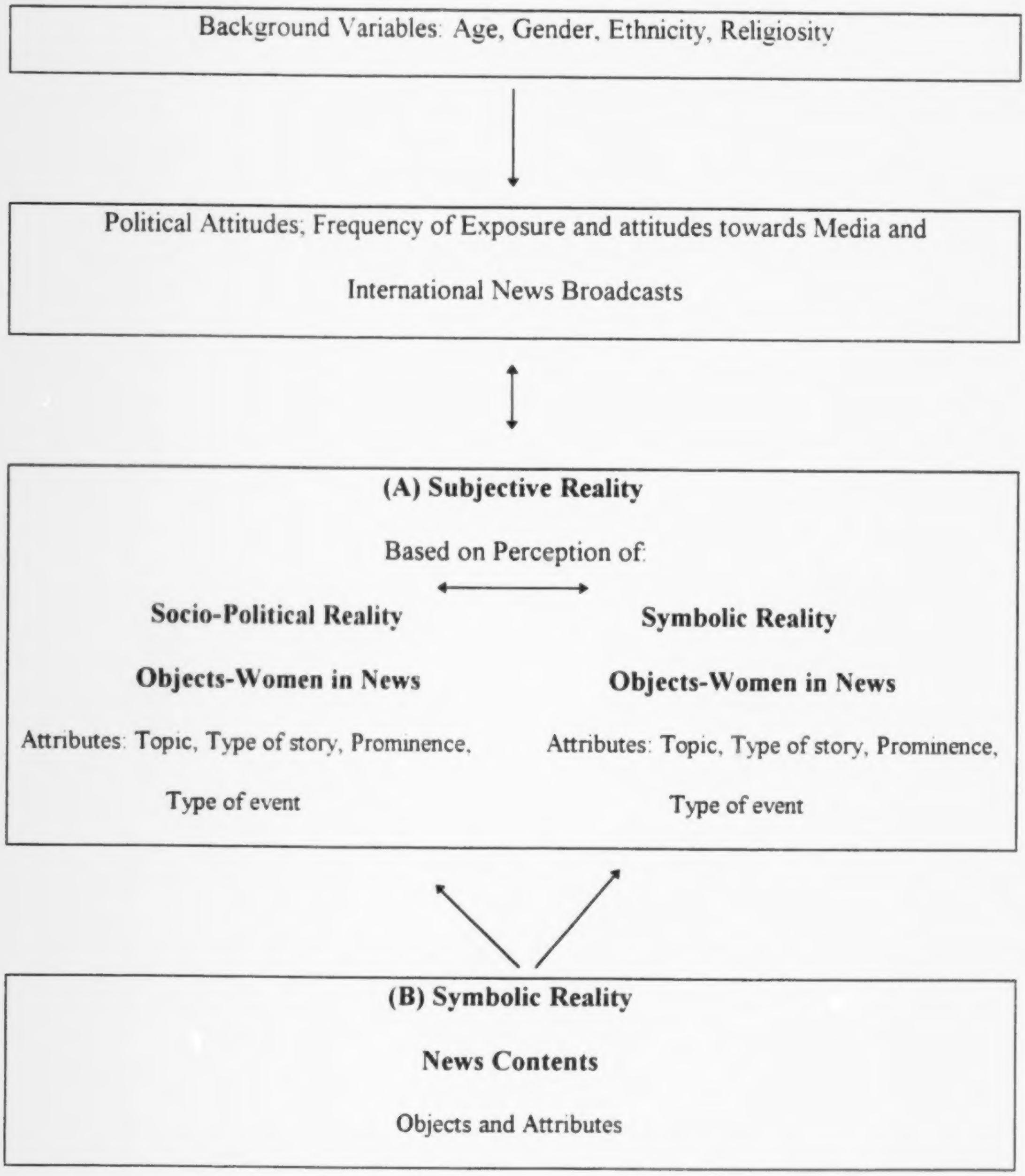
Although Berber and Luckmann's book made no mention of mass communication, with the explosion of interest in the media that accompanied the dramatic social and cultural changes of that turbulent decade, mass communication theorists soon identified the book's value for developing media theory (Baran and Davis, 1995). For example, this was developed in *The Role of Israeli Television in Developing Attitudes of Jewish Adolescents toward Arabs and the Israeli-Arab Conflict (First, 1995.* In our study of women in the news , we suggest that the second dimension of agenda-setting can be understood best as a process of reality construction, because its clarify the process that create the picture in the head of the individuals. Figure 1 suggests an integrative model of how we process information.

SUMMARY

Women are not yet there in the world's press - that is, they are not there much in frequency or quantity, and often then, they are associated more with the private than the public sphere. Agenda-setting research on the second dimension would suggest that this may be merely reinforcing stereotypes about women the world over. If so, social change is likely to be abrupt and rough. Women are not likely to win equality wearing white gloves. Although women have become part of some research agendas, they are not yet part of the public agenda.

FIGURE 1 - RESEARCH MODEL

THE ROLE OF NEWS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ATTITUDES


Background Variables: Age, Gender, Ethnicity, Religiosity
Political Attitudes; Frequency of Exposure and attitudes towards Media and International News Broadcasts
(A) Subjective Reality
Based on Perception of:
Socio-Political Reality
Objects-Women in News
Attributes: Topic, Type of story, Prominence, Type of event
Symbolic Reality
Objects-Women in News
Attributes: Topic, Type of story, Prominence, Type of event
(B) Symbolic Reality
News Contents
Objects and Attributes

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Appendix 1

The countries are USA, Argentina, Mexico, Bolivia, Colombia, Cuba, Peru, Venezuela, United Kingdom, Austria, Germany, Netherlands, Iceland, Norway, Finland, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovenia, Ukraine, Cameron, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Israel, Kuwait, Lebanon ,UAE, India, Malaysia, North Korea, South Korea, Thailand, China, Taiwan, Japan, Hong Kong, New Zealand, Papua NG

"Somewhere Between Average and Perfect": Women's Magazines and the Construction of Feminine Identity

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"Somewhere Between Average and Perfect": Women's Magazines and the Construction of Feminine Identity

> When women's experience is made intelligible in the communications of consciousness-raising we can recognize that it is in the structures of men's stories that we don't make sense—that our own experience, collectively and jointly appreciated, can generate a picture of ourselves and the world within which we are intelligible. The consciousness-raising process reveals us to ourselves as authoritative perceivers which are neither men nor the fantastical, impossible feminine beings which populate the men's world-story...From the point of view of the discrepant data, that story appears appallingly partial and distorted—it seems a childish and fantastic, albeit dangerous, fiction (Frye, 1992, p. 60).

Many feminist scholars have documented the ways in which the mass media, particularly women's consumer magazines, present "partial and distorted" images of women (Tuchman et al.; 1978; Clark, 1980; Ferguson, 1983; Winship, 1987; McCracken, 1993; Durham, 1995; Durham, 1996). Both advertising and editorial content in women's magazines encourage women to view themselves in terms of the products they buy, as well as to conform to Western standards of ideal beauty embodied by young, white, thin, and heterosexual models. The mass circulation of these magazines has been cited as an important factor in the socialization of girls and adult women, because they reach millions of women regardless of age, race, or class (Ferguson, 1983; Winship, 1987; Peirce, 1990; Peirce, 1993; McCracken, 1993). The existence of multi-million dollar cosmetic, fashion, diet, and plastic surgery industries also suggests that many American women strive for the ever-elusive, ideal body presented in women's consumer magazines (Wolf, 1991; Bordo, 1993).

In spite of the widespread concern about the effects of these images on women's health and self-esteem, women's magazines appeal both visually and emotionally to many women. Advertisements and fashion spreads, for instance, present colorful and provocative images. The magazines also offer women social support and information about coping with the everyday stresses of being a woman, wife, mother, (heterosexual) lover, and worker (Ferguson, 1983; Winship, 1987; Wolf, 1991). And because of their mass distribution and use of simple prose, they are easily accessible to millions of women.

Although women's magazines may appear as harmless, or even helpful publications for women, many feminist researchers have noted that women's magazines present to women a skewed and inadequate view of the world. They argue that reality as depicted in women's magazines is based largely on the interests of advertisers as well as masculine desires that sexualize female submissiveness and objectification (Winship, 1987; Bordo, 1993; McCracken, 1993; Durham, 1995; Durham, 1996). For instance, the heterosexual presumption of women's magazines establishes male desire as a primary goal, and editorial and advertising content prescribe particular products or behaviors to either attract or preserve a relationship with a man (Ferguson, 1983; Winship, 1987; Peirce, 1990; Evans et al., 1991; Peirce, 1993; McCracken, 1993; Durham, 1996). Feminine perfection, and the ubiquity, appeal, and consistency with which it is promoted by women's magazines, often conforms to capitalist and patriarchal ideologies, which will be explained in this section.

While women's magazines have been the subjects of diverse and extensive research, the observations of their readers have not. The purpose of this study is to explore how women interpret the content of women's consumer magazines, and will focus on the following questions, 1) Why do women read women's magazines? 2) How do they view their bodies in terms of the ideal images presented to them? 3) What types of knowledge or experience do they use to interpret women's magazines?

Ideology and women's magazines

In many ways, women's magazines reflect a dominant social order that values male authority and sexuality, and a capitalist system that creates a class structure based on power and wealth. Women's magazines, as well as many other forms of popular culture, are playing fields for several competing ideologies, defined one way as a "systematic body of ideas articulated by a group of people" (Storey, 1993, p. 3). Another definition, and one perhaps most useful in the context of this study, describes how ideology manifests itself "in the way in which certain rituals and customs have the effect of binding us to the social order; a social order which is marked by enormous inequalities of wealth, status, and power" (p. 5). Yet there are also oppositional ideologies, such as feminist ideology, which attempt to change the dominant social order that oppresses certain groups of people.

Some theorists argue that media texts contain political significations that persuade readers to think and behave in a way that reflects particular ideologies, suggesting a struggle for social control between opposing ideologies (Storey, 1993, p. 5). As Kellner (1995) has said,

> ...current local, national, and global situations are articulated through the texts of media culture, which is itself a contested terrain, one which competing social groups use to promote their agendas and ideologies, and which itself reproduces conflicting political discourses, often in a contradictory manner (p. 20).

For instance, capitalist ideology, as it relates to popular culture, constructs at least two paradigms of freedom and identity. For one, it says that individuals have freedom of choice in the range of goods and services provided by a laissez-faire economy. This model suggests that only the best or most popular commodities survive in a market determined by democratic, or majority interests and needs. In this sense, all individuals have an equal "vote" or voice in determining what is produced, so the industry owners are subject to the demands of consumers. This model assumes that capitalist systems have been freely chosen by individuals, and therefore survive on the base of natural selection. However, one flaw in this assumption has been summarized by Marcuse (1964):

> Under the rule of a repressive whole, liberty can be made into a powerful instrument of domination. The range of choice open to the individual is not the decisive factor in determining the degree of human freedom, but *what* can be chosen and what *is* chosen by the individual. The criterion for free choice can never be an absolute one,

> but neither is it entirely relative. Free election of masters does not abolish the masters or the slaves. Free choice among a wide variety of goods and services does not signify freedom if these goods and services sustain social controls over a life of toil and fear—that is, if they sustain alienation (p. 21).

Another aspect of capitalist ideology in the late twentieth century portrays consumption as a path to self-fulfillment. Identities and emotions are created through the purchase of products whose dominant meanings appeal to the consumer. This characteristic of capitalist ideology overlaps with the "freedom of choice" model above in that they both disregard race, class, and gender as factors that determine the ways individuals participate in capitalist society.

Patriarchal ideology also denies the imbalance of power among social groups. For one, it assumes that both men and women are innately heterosexual, and that masculine and feminine traits are natural, rather than socially constructed, characteristics of men and women. For instance, the feminine characteristics of weakness and dependence reflect and maintain many women's economic and emotional reliance on men. The construction of sexuality in patriarchal ideology oppresses women by subordinating female sexuality to a masculine subjectivity. Frye (1983) argues that patriarchal ideology erases women's sexual experiences from dominant reality by defining sex according to the male experience of sex, that is, as it is experienced through penile penetration and ejaculation (p. 157). The dynamics of male sexuality work to control, alter, or erase altogether women's private sexual experience.

Some have credited women's magazines with creating the social (and personal) space for female sexual expression. The recognition of female sexual pleasure has been partly attributed to the "mainstreaming" of the second feminist movement via women's magazines (Whitney, 1993). The discussion of women's sexuality, while a necessary first step to sexual freedom for women, has been limited to a heterosexual definition in women's consumer magazines. For instance, *Cosmopolitan*, long-credited as the first magazine to champion recreational sex for women, usually couches its features in traditional, heterosexist language. In a qualitative analysis of *Cosmopolitan* articles, McCracken (1993) demonstrates that liberation themes offer transgressive fantasies on the surface, but ultimately reaffirm the status quo (e.g. the lovers get married, the woman keeps her baby, villains are punished, etc.) (p. 162). So while *Cosmopolitan* may appear to offer a rebellious alternative to repressive social norms, "[m]any of *Cosmopolitan*'s sexually daring pieces are based on male fantasies about women that have habitually structured women's view of their own sexuality" (p. 162).

Just as patriarchal ideology associates love with male desire, it also equates beauty with white characteristics. For instance, in women's magazines, black models with light skin and straight hair are often presented as examples of the latest makeup technology, images which deny the historical oppression that has favored and punished women of color according to white standards of beauty. Such depictions are examples of what Stuart Hall (1995) calls "inferential racism...those apparently naturalised representations of events and situations relating to race, whether 'factual' or 'fictional' which have racists [sic] premisses and propositions inscribed in them as a set of *unquestioned assumptions*" (p. 20). Likewise, in women's magazines, "the content of fashion, the specific ideals that women are drawn to embody (ideals that vary historically, racially, and along class and other lines) are seen as arbitrary, without meaning; interpretation is neither required or even appropriate" (Bordo, 1993, p. 233).

This analysis shows how patriarchal and capitalist ideologies connect with each other at various points. For instance, capitalist ideology is apparent in the ways women's magazines suggest a wide array of products, and therefore freedom for women to choose how they want to look or feel, yet they also restrict those choices to "recipes" that advocate a young, white, thin, and heterosexual model of femininity. Patriarchal ideology is also reflected in women's magazines through a "symbolic order" that prioritizes women's duties according to male interests and desires (Ferguson, 1983, p. 7). The influential power of these ideologies, which involve an obsession with the female body, is well summarized by Bordo (1993), who says "[t]he general tyranny of fashion—perpetual, elusive, and instructing the female body in a pedagogy of personal inadequacy and lack—is a powerful discipline for the normalization of *all* women in this culture" (p. 254).

Interpellation, resistance, and the construction of meaning

Some of the ways in which ideology appeals to the reader occurs in the process of interpellation, theorized by the French philosopher Louis Althusser. This is also known as the act of "hailing," which has an effect similar to calling to someone across the street (Althusser, 1971, p. 174). For instance, if a person is called by her name, she may recognize a friend's voice and turn to see who it is. Or if someone shouts, "Hey you—look out!" she might take action to guard against some imminent danger. In both instances, the type of hail determined her subjectivity. In the first instance, she recognized herself as a friend by the nature of the greeting. In the second, she recognized herself as a person in danger. In both cases, her subjectivity was constructed by the Subject, or the person who exercised the power to control *how she recognized herself* (p. 174). In other words, the one who hails is the Subject, the one who is hailed is the subject, with a lower-case *s*.

The concept of interpellation, or hailing, has important applications to women's magazines. Instead of Subject/subject, it might be helpful to consider the process of interpellation, as it relates to women's magazines, as one of Woman/woman. For instance, the Subject of transcendent womanhood, Woman, hails women through cover lines that call out to "a new you" and promise "you" a revolutionary diet that will dissolve 20 pounds in two weeks. The construction of the subject, woman, depends on her "recognition of a destination" (e.g. a thinner body, clearer skin, marriage) based upon Woman's rules and rituals (Althusser, 1971, p. 178).

For instance, advertisements encourage women to see themselves as they exist in their current, imperfect state, and how they could look or feel in a future, improved condition by purchasing the product. They hail the reader as someone who is incomplete and inadequate:

> The spectator-buyer is meant to envy herself as she will become if she buys the product. She is meant to imagine herself transformed by the product into an object of envy for others, an envy which will then justify her loving herself. One could put this another way: the publicity image steals her love of herself as she is, and offers it back to her for the price of the product (Berger, 1972, p. 133).

Stuart Hall's (1980) model of dominant, negotiated, and oppositional readings offers one way of understanding how women might resist ideological constructions of feminine identity. The dominant reading is produced by a reader who is positioned to accept the dominant ideology (p. 136). A negotiated reading is a compromise between the producers' preferred reading of the text and the lived experience of the reader. There are some elements of opposition in the negotiated reading, but it is generally constructed to make sense of one's position within the dominant structure (p. 137). Oppositional readings are produced by those who directly contest the dominant ideology (p. 138). In terms of women's magazines, a textual analysis coupled with in-depth interviews with their readers provides insight into both the dominant meanings of the magazines, and the readings produced by their audience.

Meaning, in this sense, is a product of the negotiation between the reader and a given text, such as women's magazines. For instance, femininity demands a considerable investment of time, money, and energy. The millions of dollars women spend each year on cosmetics clearly serves the interests of the cosmetics industry. The restrictions femininity places on women in terms of power, identity, and sexuality also benefit patriarchal society. In turn, femininity offers women both social and personal rewards for adhering to its codes. But women can "read" femininity in several ways. They can obey its prescriptions and demands, follow some rituals while rejecting others, or resist capitalist and patriarchal ideologies altogether, and risk punishment.

The current research on media representations of femininity and women suggests that women's magazines perpetuate capitalist and patriarchal ideologies that reinforce the dominant social order. While much of this work cogently portrays the symbolic power of mass media images, much work still needs to be done to explore how women interpret mass media texts. This paper offers some preliminary observations of women's experiences with women's consumer magazines.

METHOD

My interest in the relationships between women and the media is grounded in a feminist belief that patriarchal systems of representation reflect and maintain ideologies that oppress women. I chose to conduct in-depth interviews with small groups of women because, as Montell (1996) argues, "More than most other methods, group interviews provide feminists with the opportunity to conduct research that is consciousness-raising and empowering, research that does not merely describe what is, but that participates in shaping what could be" (Abstract). Group interviews provide a valuable source of data because they offer a more egalitarian form of research than surveys or laboratory experiments, which prevent participants from sharing information or asking questions. Although the researcher frames the context of the study, the participants control the conversation and challenge each other's observations, a process of negotiation that can reveal ideas generally accepted by the group, and those which generate disagreement (p. 5). Montell notes that "This negotiation and discussion is *itself* an important and interesting process to observe" because it "illuminate[s] participants' underlying assumptions and the extent to which they share a culture of common sense understandings" (p. 5).

A total of 13 women were interviewed, and participated in one discussion each. They were recruited by electronic mail postings and flyers which encouraged women of color, lesbian and bi-sexual women, and women over 35 to take part in the discussions. The flyers were posted in a variety of places including campus buildings, churches, and health clinics in low-income districts. Women were chosen on the basis of age (over 18), race, and sexual orientation. Potential interviewees were asked a series of demographic questions concerning age, household income, education, occupation, sexual orientation, marital status and women's magazine reading habits. Some of the most common magazines women read were *Allure*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour*, *Redbook*, *New Woman*, *Self*, *Shape*, and *Vogue*.

Audiotaped meetings were held in the campus union and each participant was paid ten dollars. Three of these discussions took the form of a focus group, with three to five women participating, and two were one-to-one conversations between myself and the participant. Accommodating last-minute scheduling conflicts was the primary reason for the varied interview formats, but I found that each discussion produced equally valuable observations. The discussions lasted between a minimum of one hour to 2 1/2 hours, and for purposes of anonymity, all names (except those of celebrities or otherwise famous people) have been changed. Women were assigned to groups according to age, race, and sexual orientation because as Montell (1996) has also noted, "In more homogeneous groups people will feel more comfortable with each other and they are more likely to feel that the others will understand them" (p. 12). In fact, one woman in her 30s asked not to be placed in a group with women in their teens because she felt the age difference would make her uncomfortable.

The women whom I interviewed were in no way randomly chosen or representative of the larger North American female population. They all had at least one year of college, two had master's degrees, and several women were pursuing bachelor's degrees. None had children, and only one was married. So in this regard we are unlike a large portion of the women's magazines audience. However, the main goal in this type of research is to elicit women's shared experiences, so organizing groups according to their representativeness of a given population "might actually reduce the quality of the data if it produces groups that cannot generate good discussions" (Montell, 1996, p. 8).

Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind who was not represented: women who are mothers, working-class, on welfare, without college education, over 40, or who do not speak English. I made attempts to reach these women through churches, health clinics, and community organizations, but received no replies. A more comprehensive study should try to organize discussions with these women by allocating more time and effort to reaching them. For these reasons it is important to remember the relatively privileged position, at least in terms of education and independence from husband and children, of the women who did participate.

I began this study with a series of questions which guided both my research and interview discussions:

- What do women find pleasurable or unpleasurable about women's magazines? What do they specifically read or look for in a magazine and why?
- How do women perceive themselves and their bodies in terms of the visual and textual narratives in women's magazines?
- How do women resist or negotiate these messages? What types of critical tools do they use to interpret women's magazines?
- How do women's magazines nurture or fracture a sense of community among women?

My role as facilitator in group discussions with women was sometimes multifaceted. As a researcher, I felt compelled to maintain "critical distance"—not to inject my own thoughts or preconceptions into the discussions. But as a feminist, my interest was also personal. Finally, my inquiry was an attempt to explore the conflicts women feel between their lived experiences and the ideals presented in the magazines—the strain of feeling "somewhere between average and perfect" as described by Sarah, a 22-year-old college student.

ANALYSIS—WOMEN'S RESPONSES

Many patterns emerged from my conversations with women. Perhaps the clearest way to demonstrate some of them is to follow the procession of research questions. Of course, my questions were not limited to these four, and the discussions often diverged from my agenda. Sometimes the most interesting observations resulted from these departures. In this section, I will try to account for the context in which women responded to my questions, or the remarks of other participants. The patterns I have chosen to discuss are useful in demonstrating how, as Kellner (1995) theorizes, the terrain of ideology is contested.

1. Why do women read women's magazines?

The contradictions involved with reading—and enjoying—women's magazines was one pattern I found in women's comments. Many women simultaneously considered the magazines useful and frivolous. While some women described the magazines as "brain candy" or something to read in the bathtub, they were not considered completely trivial. Fitness magazines such as *Shape* and *Fitness* were regarded as good sources of information about nutrition and exercise. Others praised them for disseminating information about breast cancer and other women's health concerns.

Although the women said that they read women's magazines at the end of a hard day, or to otherwise "escape" from reality, they looked for specific information to guide their lives. Career advice (which included tips on how to dress professionally), health research, and articles on sexual harassment and rape were generally considered worthwhile reading. Topics that many women enjoyed, but considered a waste of time included celebrity gossip, makeup or fashion advice, and exercise techniques. Interestingly, in spite of the well-documented presence of patriarchal themes in women's magazines, almost all of the women said they resented the "how to catch and keep a man" articles, and found their prescriptions condescending and adolescent. One woman said that she used a tip intended to keep men *away* (hold a can of Mace in plain view and pretend to read the directions). One woman described her ambivalence toward the magazines this way:

> What usually gets me—I'm such a sucker—is the little labels that they usually have on there. There's a certain thing that hits me. As much as I know that I'm being manipulated, I know I want to buy it because it might solve whatever ridiculous problem. Usually it's like this one—"Tighten your butt in 20 minutes a week"...Every time, that's one of the funny things about these magazines. No matter how much they disappoint in terms of getting your expectations up and what you think you're going to get out of them, it never does change your life like you hope it will.
>
> —Tina, 26-year-old Chicana

The concept of change was often noted during the discussions. Generally, women talked about the pressure or desire to change their bodies according to the magazines' prescriptions. Often the pressure they felt to engage in beauty and fitness rituals influenced their desire to achieve these results. One example of women's frustration with the magazines was their recognition of what McCracken (1993) called "the textual strategies that conflate commodities and desire" (p. 300). For example, women's magazines capitalize on the well-known health benefits of exercise and nutrition by associating them with commodities, so they find a market among many women who might otherwise reject traditional beauty products and services. One woman who said that she read fitness magazines for their exercise and weight-loss advice was frustrated by the magazines' conflation of health and beauty:

> For me there's this bizarre kind of conflict, guilt I guess is the wrong word, but I'm trying to get more fit and lose weight. And I know that I'm doing this because I want to be fit and I want to be healthier and stronger and all of this, but there is still this little thing that goes on in my head that says, 'Are you sure that you're not doing this just because you want to look better? And isn't that shallow?' And that kind of stuff.

> There is a kind of internal dialogue that goes on. I mean, I've always been big, always. So I've always had the punishment part for not fitting in to this kind of stuff.
>
> —Barbara, white woman, age 32

Ironically, women noted that they often look to women's magazines to help them feel better, and said they enjoy them for the visual appeal of the cover photo or the ads. For instance, one woman said she buys them because the colorful ads and spreads lift her spirits during the cold, grey days of winter. However, the ways that they said they read the magazines—quickly flipping through the pages to pass the time at a doctor's office, or while using an exercise machine—suggest that these magazines are not used for serious or ponderous reading. The short amounts of time spent with the magazines could be interpreted as one form of resistance. For instance, two women in their 30s talked about how, as teenagers, they felt inferior to the magazine models. I asked what information or strategies they used now to resist images of ideal femininity. One woman responded:

> Well, one thing is I don't read them often because I think they are an assault no matter what you do. They're an assault on you for being an imperfect human subject to time and tide...
>
> —April, white woman, age 35

April was among nine of the 13 women who said she spent five or fewer hours per month reading women's magazines. Like April, many women said they knew of "better things" they could be reading, or that their self-image suffered less when they didn't look at women's magazines. Yet, in spite of this awareness, women still regard fashion magazines as both pleasurable and harmless pastimes, as well as vehicles of debilitating ideologies.

For instance, one woman said she read *Shape*, *Fitness*, *Fit*, and *Self* solely for their exercise and health information, as well as for inspirational weight-loss stories. But the new Woman who is healthy and fit, rather than malnourished, is a source of ambivalence for many women. While many women easily reject beauty standards that glorify anorexic, child-like models, images of women who embody ideal standards of fitness are more appealing because they signify strength and self-actualization through healthy living rather than starvation. However, the sleek, muscular, carbo-pumped Woman is still unrealistic because the emphasis remains on standards of beauty—often embodied by young, professional athletes or models who market fitness equipment and techniques—that is impossible for many women to achieve. But it demonstrates how the ideologies in women's consumer magazines have co-opted demands for healthier-looking models. The fit Woman also requires the ritual consumption of athletic clothes, energy drinks, and expensive exercise gadgets. The frustration associated with such an ideal persists for many women:

> While I read *Shape* and *Fitness*, and while those magazines are really good at using reader-models for stuff...when they use a reader-model, it's always an 'after' person. And I wish that they would use a 'during' person because if you want me to do that exercise, show *me* doing that exercise. Show someone who weighs over 200 pounds doing that exercise because there are a lot of people out there who are my size, and we need to do those exercises too. Not 'after,' but 'during.' If I'm aiming for that little bit of bicep definition, then show someone who has a bicep that looks like mine doing that bicep curl. It's good that they use reader-models, it's a good thing, it gives you her before picture and here's what she looks like now, but what did she look like at the beginning, when she was doing those leg raises that you're showing us how to do? Show someone who doesn't have that definition, that same thing.
>
> —Barbara, white woman, age 32

The polarization of women's bodies occurs precisely through the use of "before" and "after" pictures. The "before" woman serves as an example of unchecked gluttony and sloth, and therefore undeserving of love or respect. The "after" model reflects not only standards of female perfection, but also of capitalistic idealism. She is a paradigm of the lean and solitary runner for whom success is all. Barbara is right—in cultural depictions of women there is no in between because the reader must always be reminded of the ultimate goal—the "after" life of self-depravation, which is ironically achieved through constant consumption. The construction of Woman remains, as it always has, an appetizer for the consumer's palate.

While the women often said they felt compelled to buy or read women's magazines in spite of the manipulative content, they by no means read them uncritically. What is interesting is the dilemma that women's magazines present to a critical reader. How do women enjoy women's magazines, yet still feel demoralized and unrewarded? I believe that this pattern of ambivalence toward fashion magazines demonstrates the difficulties women face in rejecting pervasive ideologies that don't make sense in terms of their real-life experiences.

2. **How do women perceive themselves and their bodies in terms of the visual and textual narratives in women's magazines?**
3. **What types of critical methods do they use to interpret women's magazines?**

I decided to present the responses to these two questions in the same section because they were interconnected. To arrange them into separate sections would have required decontextualizing them from the discussions, and I have tried to relate those nuanced accounts here to illustrate the multi-layered nature of identity.

The struggle to find media representations of women who are not white, young, and heterosexual is difficult. As one woman said, it is quite literally a search for *any* images at all, and those are usually poor substitutes. Nearly all the women, regardless of age, race, or sexual orientation were dissatisfied with the presentation of women's bodies and experiences in the magazines. The reasons ranged from the frustration of competing with such an ideal to questioning why young and thin white women dominate the pages in the first place.

Unlike Althusser's theory of the Subject, women did not regard the models as superhumans or ethereal beings to whom they must defer. Instead, women spoke of fashion models as objects subject to *their* gaze—as things to behold, like flowers or ornaments. But for some women, objectifying the models seemed like attempts to claim authenticity and value for their own experiences:

> I look at them, and they're posing as if they had my life. And they don't have my life, and I feel sorry for them, you know, because I have an interesting life, and they don't, I don't think. I don't want to do what they do. I don't think I ever really did.
>
> —April, white woman, age 35

> I think that's one of the things that is so interesting. I'm totally heterosexual, but I can still see how beautiful they are. They are *so* beautiful. And I don't think, 'oh, what does this mean about me?' because that's what's so fascinating. They're like these specimens or something. They just parade, literally, and that's their job, literally, to walk up and down and go away behind the screen and on to the next one. To me, the fact that I look at them that way makes them almost sexless in a way. They're just like these beautiful things.
>
> —Traci, Hispanic woman, age 24

Distancing may be one type of resistant reading. By denying models human qualities such as personalities or fulfilling lives, women can accentuate the meanings and value of their own experiences. Many women also physically distanced themselves from the rituals and products which are part of a feminine identity. As April said, she refuses to spend her "whole day working at" being beautiful, like the models do.

The mass media were generally blamed for contributing to negative self-perceptions among young women and girls, but the role of media messages in the lives of older women was more ambiguous. Few women said that the images in women's magazines affected them now, as opposed to when they were teenagers. Stories about their teenage experiences related to how much they conformed, or the extent to which they rejected norms of beauty. Interestingly, most said that they were no longer influenced by the images, advice, or overwhelming sexual content, even one woman who was just a few years out of high school:

> I end up dismissing them. I used to think that they were kind of pressuring, but now I just don't care about them. I guess because I've been educated about it...When I was younger I used to look at [the models] and idolize them. I think that really hurt my self-esteem as a child...I was in my senior year of high school and I had gained a

> tremendous amount of weight. And since then I've realized that the best way to deal with it and to have a regular, normal life, is to not constantly worry about it. To just go out. That's what happened to me. Because I had to find a way to bring down my weight safely. Without letting it rule my life like I did before.
>
> —Sarah, 19-year-old woman of African-American and Middle Eastern descent

Sarah and other women generally seemed to produce oppositional readings if the message failed to "hail" or interpellate them as Althusser theorized. So while Sarah, for instance, buys the magazines for articles and cosmetic coupons, she rejects articles that attack her choice to be a single woman. Many women noted that they simply didn't "buy in" to the advertisements or images. They were aware of the manipulation, they asserted, and therefore able to make unadulterated choices between products. As Traci said:

> Sure, I've never had an original Calvin Klein runway piece, but you can go find Calvin Klein at Dillard's. I'm never going to have Donna Karan clothes in my closet, but DKNY I can afford. They do that on purpose. They create this outlandish thing, that you're never going to be able to afford anyway, and then they do the smaller version that you will wear and that you can afford. So you're thinking, wow, look how much cheaper it is, even if it is still $200 for a blouse. It's still a really well made blouse...I see that they're trying to make money, and they're making it off of me, but I don't think I want to be that way.

Traci denied that she felt pressured to buy these clothes, and made such purchases out of a sense of personal style. Since she rejected the sales pitch, she could interpret the message on her own terms. She can buy the magazines and clothes even though she doesn't "buy" the meanings embedded in the advertising. But, ultimately, the "preferred reading" of a DKNY ad *is* the reader's purchase. Although Traci's transformation of the products' dominant meanings signifies a type of resistant reading, her purchases uphold the material base of the dominant capitalist system, and ultimately its systemic control.

However, most of the women made more critical than positive observations about the magazines, which raises an important question about interpellation. How are reader-subjects constructed by the dominant culture if they don't recognize themselves in its representations? The following observations help to illustrate how some women oppose dominant ideologies:

> The only time you see the issue [of homosexuality] brought up is 'My son is gay—what should I do?' There's nothing there. I remember going through high school thinking, 'I'm never going to be 5'9", I'm never going to weigh 110 pounds.' I don't fit in that way, and then five or six years later thinking, 'ok, I'm gay, there's another reason I haven't quite gone into these magazines either.' They don't offer anything for me in terms of relationships. How to build them, how to keep them. How to relate to other women. It talks about how to bring you and your spouse together. What happens when both of you are women? There are all sorts of different issues that are not brought up in here at all.
>
> —Patricia, white woman, age 24

> They exclude a large number of women. You live your whole life with everyone assuming that you're heterosexual, and when you realize you're not, or when I realized I wasn't, I got tired of everything in the world which said, 'You're heterosexual.' Which is why I started avoiding the magazines. You pick up right away on their sexual presumption. They don't have to do it that way. They choose to approach sex in the way that they do.
>
> —Mary, white woman, age 21

As Larry Gross (1991) has said, the "symbolic annihilation" and stereotypical portrayals of minorities, especially homosexuals, in the media shapes the dominant society's perceptions of these groups as well as self-identities (p. 26). Patricia's and Mary's comments affirm Gross' belief that "the process of identity formation for lesbian women and gay men requires the strength and determination to swim against the stream" (p. 26).

Many women described their identity processes as slow and difficult shifts toward self-acceptance. It requires a constant effort to recognize and resist ideologies that structure the societies in which we live. Many women said their awareness of patriarchal ideology was heightened by feminist publications such as Ms. Two women also cited *Reviving Ophelia* as a book which helped them understand how mass media images encourage women and girls to find pleasure in their objectification. Another woman explained how college experiences helped her to articulate her suspicions of women's magazines:

> I went to a very liberal school. Women were very natural, letting their body hair grow, wearing big, full dresses so you couldn't see their figures. I really liked that kind

> of a setting because I never felt that I had to keep up with anything. It didn't matter that I couldn't wear a bikini. I think that setting and early on, I took an intro to feminism class and then everything just clicked. It was like all along I knew that something was wrong, and then I had the intellectual information to back it up and argue about it intelligently. Here were 500 other women in this classroom and we're all going, 'Umm hmmmm.' For me that was the turning point. I mean, these images are so pervasive. It still takes a hell of a lot of reminding myself.
>
> —Tina, 26-year-old Chicana

Many women felt that their experiences and lives were not portrayed in the media, and that this lack of representation has a powerful influence over the ways women, beginning in childhood, develop their identities. The symbolic annihilation and stereotypical representations of women of color and lesbians and bi-sexual women further exacerbates the difficulties of self-identification in a racist and homophobic society. In terms of the magazines, one woman said that she perceived herself in terms of what was missing. For instance, she determined how to apply her makeup by doing the *opposite* of what was shown in the magazines, since most of the makeup colors are designed for white women. Similarly, lesbians and bi-sexual women said that ideologies of sexuality were not hard to resist, since their experiences largely existed outside the dominant discourse of female sexuality.

Still, deconstructing dominant ideologies does not seem to be enough for women to completely resist their role in identity formation. All the women in some way felt constructed by ideology, whether through white standards of beauty that forced them to negotiate between real and ideal characteristics, or through heterosexist ideologies that socialize all women to value sexual and emotional relationships with men. One difference between the ways women resist these ideologies may lie in the types of communities they identify with. For instance, many women of color live in families and neighborhoods with people of similar racial heritage, and find some social support against racist ideologies. By contrast, most lesbians and gay men grow up in heterosexual communities, where they sometimes experience rejection and hostility from their own families. Some of the lesbian and bi-sexual women I talked with said they began to discover their identities after they left the repressive climate of high school and started college.

Their experiences, and those of other women who described their distrust of dominant culture, suggest that our individual interpretations, however insightful they may be, require the validation and support of other women to help us construct identities in opposition to dominant ideologies.

4. How do women's magazines nurture or fracture a sense of community among women?

As some writers have noted, women's magazines offer women social support in a world in which they are simultaneously caretakers, chauffeurs, workers, mothers, wives, and domestic laborers. By addressing "women's" needs and interests, magazines provide a sense of solidarity between women. But as Winship (1987) noted, the "we women" clique is restricted primarily to women who are white, young, and heterosexual (p. 67). McCracken (1993) also documented the ways in which women's magazines foster competition based on beauty and the ability to attract a man, rather than collective action toward women's shared goals. Given these conflicting testimonies, how do women make sense of the ways women *as an audience* are constructed by fashion magazines? Do these publications foster a sense of solidarity or competition with other women? The following segment of conversation demonstrates how some women address these questions:

> Jane (white woman, age 39): It used to be that the models intimidated me, but they don't anymore. I can flip through and enjoy the components of it, but not feel insecure because I don't look like a particular model. My hair doesn't look like any of these, but I'm happy with my hair. But the thing that really bothers me is that I read the biographies, or they'll have pictorials on 'successful women.' It'll give their biographies and I'm going 'my god! I haven't done any of those things.' And that's what makes me feel really, really insecure. 'She's younger than I am and look, she's won all these awards and prizes and she's an author and she's done all these things.'

Barbara (white woman, age 32): And she started her own company at age 27.

Jane: And she was a millionaire and she gave it all up to become a nun. Those are the things that really push buttons with me.

April (white woman, age 35): So maybe that's a new kind of...

Jane: Yeah, maybe I've evolved into new insecurities.

April: No, I'm saying maybe it's a new way to cow us.

Jane: Because they're certainly rare.

April: These people do some pretty serious demographical marketing research. I think we would all be stunned to find out they're trying to find out about what we're thinking and how we respond and what our weaknesses are. Maybe women are getting free of worrying about how they look, so they think, 'ok, what can we do now?'

Barbara: But there have always been those few extraordinary people who can accomplish so much at such a young age. I think that because she's the extraordinary one, by definition, you can't live up to her.

Jane: I have the same reaction when I read about men who got their Ph.D. at 21 and went on. So it's not just women. I also like to think that it's nice that women's magazines are showing that younger women have accomplishments too, just like men. Because it used to be, the 30 most exceptional men, and now they throw women in, too.

April: I think it's back to the same thing. First of all, getting everyone to compare themselves is a real bugaboo. I think that they really do rely on people's reflex to compare themselves to sell things. It's the same thing as looking at the lips. What's motivating all this? I think that we can outsmart them. They're not going to get over on me.

I: Why is it that these images are so unsettling if we know that they're unrealistic?

Barbara: For me, it's why should I have to do that in order to be accepted?

Jane: Well you don't. You can develop yourself, your own essence, but so many people don't. They just get caught up and aren't really very well-rounded.

Barbara: But the message is that you have to be able to do all this stuff, and do it really well. I hate that I am even getting this message, forget that I have to go to the trouble of rejecting this message.

Jane: But why can't we just celebrate it? Why can't I look at these people and say, 'great for them? I'm so glad to see that after so many men have been held up as being admirable and never seeing any women?'

April: I look at women and think, she's done this, this and this, in this much time, now is she true to this feminine spiritual patterning, or is she just being a guy? To me, it's not wonderful when a woman is being a man. It's very damaging when what I do naturally is not understood and put down. I just look at people and think, I wonder what home is like, I wonder what it's like at night, alone or whatever. I can't be jealous of anyone because I don't know what they've given up. They've not made it holy.

Jane: I understand what you're trying to express, but I don't know that I agree with all of it.

April: You don't have to agree with me.

Jane: I know, but what I'm saying is that if I felt the way you did, then I wouldn't even read that article. I would just say, 'well, it's not really important to me. What's really important is what kind of person I am.' And I have periods like that, too.

Some of these observations relate to Illouz' (1991) work that demonstrates how women's magazines use the language of capitalism to define intimate human relationships. Although her article specifically refers to the portrayals of heterosexual relationships in women's magazines, this discussion shows that success in women's magazines is defined in capitalistic terms also. It is presented as a struggle to be the best, to survive and thrive upon one's own resources with little responsibility or obligation toward the social good. Tales of successful women reinforce capitalist ideology through propagandistic portrayals of individuals who have achieved the American dream solely through hard work, ambition, and personal virtue. Such narratives obscure systemic social controls (based on class, race, and gender discrimination) that exclude many people from the privileges enjoyed by a powerful elite.

Jane mentioned that she felt envious of women's success as it was presented in women's magazines. But she wanted to interpret these stories as breakthroughs in public recognition of women's accomplishments. Perhaps part of the problem is that this type of success is defined by masculine standards that have traditionally excluded women. Winship (1987) calls this portrayal of success "aspirational feminism" and she says "Whatever its gains for individual women, an aspirational feminism works within, not against the competitive organization of work. It is about 'I' rather than 'we'" (p. 120). In other words, aspirational feminism is not feminism at all, but rather an ideology that rewards women who adhere to patriarchal and capitalist ideologies. The fact that Jane has trouble finding the collective benefits for women in women's consumer magazines is not surprising—they are couched in ideologies that deny systemic oppression.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study has been to explore how capitalist and patriarchal ideologies shape the ways in which women view themselves and their relationships to dominant culture. As mass-distributed publications produced by powerful organizations and widely consumed by women, women's consumer magazines serve as connections between dominant ideologies and millions of women regardless of race, class, and sexual identity. This makes them ideal texts in which to explore questions of ideology, resistance, and women's identities.

In many ways, the types of readings produced by the women who participated seemed contingent upon which social group they identified with. If specific characteristics of Woman were impossible or unrealistic for women to adopt based on age, race, and sexuality, then women criticized those characteristics, rather than regard themselves as inadequate for their failure to conform to them. For instance, older women did not seem to feel threatened or pressured to have teenage bodies, lesbians and bi-sexual women rejected the heterosexual mandate in women's magazines, and women of color disregarded or altered beauty prescriptions for white women to fit their skin color or hair type.

However, aspects of Woman that seemed attainable were less easy to dismiss. For instance, women's magazines often promote "sure-fire" exercises that will make *any* woman look like the model who demonstrates the technique. In this way, ideologies in women's magazines construct body type as a matter of choice. *You really* can *have a perfect, healthy body if you want one.* Following this logic, women who do not have perfect bodies choose to be unhealthy, unfit, and unfeminine, "decisions" which carry a wide range of punishments. Many of the participants, while knowing that such exercises or diet products will not transform their bodies, still felt obligated to perform or purchase them. When the demands of Woman remain within the realm of familiar possibilities, women seemed less able to resist them.

Some of these observations suggest that women tend to produce negotiated readings of women's consumer magazines, which partly reinforces the predictions of some researchers who argue that women's magazines socialize women into traditional ideologies of womanhood. However, as Radway (1986) suggested, women's dissatisfaction with dominant media images may offer an opportunity to examine how a social order based on patriarchal and capitalist ideologies is "one that is constructed to serve the needs of others and therefore one that can be changed" (p. 111). In itself, feminist research that adopts the techniques of consciousness-raising groups offers a valuable opportunity for women to jointly examine—and resist—oppressive ideologies that devalue and deny women's experiences.

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JOB SATISFACTION IN ADVERTISING:

A Gender Perspective

by

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JOB SATISFACTION IN ADVERTISING:

A Gender Perspective

ABSTRACT

One way to examine the changing role of women in the work force and in society itself is job satisfaction research. This study focuses on the advertising industry. It finds that women in advertising, unlike women in the general work force, are less satisfied than men. However, conforming with the general work force, men and women seem to derive satisfaction from the same sources. Seven dimensions of advertising job satisfaction are identified and discussed.

JOB SATISFACTION IN ADVERTISING:

A Gender Perspective

With astonishing speed, this country and the world continue to redefine the role of women in society. A key element in this revolution, if not the central driving force of it, is the changing role of women in the work force.

In 1950, 24% of married women in the United States were employed outside the home. By 1990 the figure had exploded to 60% (Adweek's Marketing Week). And the share of all women who are in the paid labor force will continue to grow, from 58% in 1992 to 63% in 2005 according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics projections (Reinemer, 1995).

Amidst this turmoil social science researchers are trying to get a handle on what has happened, where we are now and where we are going. One of the tools is job satisfaction research which has established theories and methods to examine the attitudes women have toward their newly won positions in the work place.

Most studies report women have equal or greater job satisfaction than men even though many still hold objectively inferior jobs (Bokemeier & Lacy, 1986; Hodson, 1989; Phelan, 1994). This still holds true today according to two very recent surveys. On the job quality side Harris (1996) reports in Working Woman magazine's 17th annual salary survey that woman typically earn 85% to 95% of what men in similar jobs take home, although the gap is narrowing. On the job satisfaction side, a

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survey by Watson Wyatt Worldwide of Washington, D.C. (Reinemer, 1995) reports that 66% of women are satisfied with their jobs overall, versus 63% of men. Women also expressed a greater sense of commitment (46% vs. 38% for men) and support for company values (61% compared to 54% of men). However, when it came to salary specifically, the tables turned slightly. Forty-five percent of women are satisfied with pay compared to 48% of men.

This higher satisfaction with less reason has been named, "the paradox of the contended female worker" (Cosby, 1992). In trying to explain the reasons for it, Phelan (1994) tested five hypotheses: 1) women's lesser job rewards are perceived as equitable because they are matched by lower job inputs; 2) women's lesser rewards are perceived as equitable because women compare themselves with female coworkers whose rewards also are low; 3) women have lower entitlement standards; 4) men value pay and authority more highly than do women; and 5) for both men and women, satisfaction is determined by subjective job rewards rather than by salary-related factors. She found support only for number five.

Witt and Nye (1992) and Mason (1995) were able to access large samples of around 13,000 in their efforts to explain gender differences in job satisfaction. Their conclusions tend to confirm Phelan's. Witt and Nye examined perceptions of fairness in pay and promotion in relation to expressed levels of job satisfaction. They found no practical differences between men and women. Mason found that U.S. women and men in management

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positions did not differ from one another in their sources of satisfaction at work.

Brush, Moch & Pooyan (1987) conducted a meta-analysis of 21 job satisfaction studies and came to the conclusion that age and perhaps job tenure are associated with job satisfaction across organizations but the strength and pattern of the associations of other demographic variables differ by organizational type. O'Hara, Boles & Johnston (1991) noted that job attitudes and selling behaviors may not be congruous across different selling environments. Many studies of specific industries or job types, have reported other differences (See, for instance, Forgionne & Peeters, 1982; Mannheim, 1983; Mottaz, 1986; Varca, Shaffer & McCauley, 1983). Thus, in the search for an answer to the gender paradox as well as other questions it seems important to add another industry, advertising, and its many unique job types to the mix of job satisfaction studies.

The reasons for studying job satisfaction itself are related to the known effects of being satisfied or dissatisfied with one's work. Locke (1983) summarizes these as effects on an individual's attitude toward life, toward family and self. Job satisfaction, he says, may be related to mental health and adjustment and plays a causal role in absenteeism and turnover. It may affect other types of behavior as well. However, according to Locke, it has no direct effect on productivity (p.1334).

That last statement usually comes as a surprise to those not

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familiar with the field because of the easy assumption that happy workers are more productive workers. As Baron (1983) reports, "Most studies designed to examine the possibility of a link between job satisfaction and productivity have yielded negative results." However, he is quick to add that since job satisfaction has been shown to influence both absenteeism and turnover and may affect additional aspects of job performance, "it is well worthy of managers' careful attention" (p.218).

Baron's (1983) definition of job satisfaction will be used. He calls it, "attitudes held by employees about their work" and expands on that to say it is "the extent to which a worker is content with position, conditions, cooperation and general treatment relative to others in organizations" (p. 518).

One major theory will affect this study as it has so many others since Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman (1959) published their landmark book, "The Motivation to Work." They divided factors affecting job satisfaction into two groups. In a later work, Herzberg (1966) explained the division in this way. "Five factors stand out as strong determiners of job satisfaction--achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility and advancement." He named them motivators. "The major dissatisfiers," he said, "were company policy and administration, supervision, salary, interpersonal relations and working conditions." He named these hygienes. (pp. 72-74)

An argument still rages over a basic tenet of this Motivation-Hygiene theory, that the former represent almost

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exclusively satisfying elements and the latter almost exclusively dissatisfying elements. After reviewing the evidence, Locke (1983) concluded, "Herzberg's insistence on the idea of two unipolar continua...seems indefensible...." But he also says, "Herzberg's theory, however, does provide a useful distinction between physical (bodily) and psychological (mental) needs and identifies cognitive growth as a major psychological need that can be fulfilled through work" (p. 1318).

Another major theory is Kalleberg's (1977). He has identified six detailed dimensions of job satisfaction, 1) intrinsic 2) convenience 3) financial 4) career opportunities 5) 5) resource adequacy and 6) relations with co-workers. Although these six dimensions can easily be classified under Herzberg's more general headings (1 and 4 under motivators and 2,3,5 and 6 under hygienes), they provide important detail in evaluating measures of job satisfaction.

In order to add to the understanding of job satisfaction by studying different industries and different job types, the authors are attempting the examination of a long neglected pocket in job satisfaction research, the advertising industry. Also, since results from a specific area should have more value to managers making decisions about workers in that area than the results of general studies, it is hoped there will be practical value to their work within the advertising industry.

Job satisfaction among women in advertising has had very little research attention. A preliminary study was presented by

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the authors in 1989 (Pokrywczynski & Crowley). Results showed women significantly less satisfied than men on Herzberg et. al.'s "hygienes" such as interaction with boss and salary. Also, in the 1980's, the trade magazine "Adweek," conducted straw polls of women in advertising asking for opinions on a variety of subjects. Although the method certainly does not meet scientific standards, these surveys still give some hints about job satisfaction among women in advertising and the problems that could detract from it.

In the fourth survey (1986), more than 80% said advertising was the right career choice for them. Salary, the lack of opportunity to reach top management positions and the problems of balancing a career with a family seemed to be the trouble spots. 84% agreed with the statement, "A woman has to work harder than her male colleagues to gain the same rewards." Seventy-eight percent said they wanted both a career and children. Fifty-four percent felt women with children can succeed as well as men. But 81% agreed with the statement, "I have to plan my career more carefully if I want children." In the fifth survey (1987), more than 50% disagreed with the statement, "To a large degree my financial compensation reflects my performance and contributions."

This paper will examine job satisfaction in the advertising industry using gender as a variable and as a co-variable in pursuit of these research questions:

1. Are women in advertising more or less satisfied than

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their male counterparts?

2. Are women in advertising more or less satisfied than working women in general?

3. Are there any factors or groups of factors (such as motivators and hygienes, type of job, size of company) which have more effect on the job satisfaction of women in this field?

Method

Personnel directors were sent one copy of a questionnaire with a request to copy it and distribute it to employees. Their incentive for doing this was a promise to send them a separate breakout of the results from only their employees if at least 10 of them responded. This two-stage sampling technique was believed to provide three advantages: 1) a more personalized way to solicit response; 2) a more efficient way to increase the total number of responses; and 3) a way to access rank and file employees whose names do not appear on any available lists.

To insure security and candid responses, employees were instructed to return the completed questionnaire in a sealed envelope which could be mailed in group by the employer or separately by the employee. No response was included in this analysis if it was not received in its own sealed envelope. Requests were sent in two waves with a wave-one mailing of 2,112 followed by a wave-two mailing of 1,563 (subtracting responses, undeliverables and refusals).

The sampling frame relied on three sources: 1) the Standard

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Directory of Advertising Agencies; 2) the Standard Directory of Advertisers; and 3) Standard Rate and Data (five media directories--radio, television, consumer magazines, business magazines and newspapers). A random selection process chose every Nth company out of each directory's alphabetical index, varying frequency according to the size of the list. An equal percentage of companies from each list was selected, resulting in larger numbers of companies representing advertisers and agencies. This was believed to reflect the different opportunities in the industry for work in advertising.

Thirty-five measures of job satisfaction were included in the survey proper along with one open-ended question about any other aspects of the job with which respondents were strongly satisfied of dissatisfied, plus several demographic questions.

Two types of job satisfaction measures were used: 1) Items from the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ) used by Dawis and Lofquist (1984); and 2) the action tendency scales developed by Locke (1983, p.1336). The MSQ items tapped respondent feelings about their jobs and about conditions of the work environment such as quality of facilities, wages, supervisors and co-workers, items falling under the classification of motivators or hygiene. The action tendency scales asked individuals *how they feel like acting* rather than asking them to recall *how they feel* in certain situations or about specific job characteristics. These items focused on a common dimension of job satisfaction, job commitment (Baron, 1983, p. 518). Respondents indicated

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their level of agreement with statements worded to reflect extreme satisfaction or dissatisfaction on a five-point scale.

Results

Sample Characteristics

Of the 1,745 respondents (1,237 in Wave 1; 508 in Wave 2) 60% were female, exactly reflecting commonly cited statistics on advertising industry makeup.

Respondents ranged in age from 17-73, an average age of 35, 64% were college graduates with a variety of majors. About 62% earned $45,000 or less annually (not counting bonuses), although this varied by gender, which will be discussed later.

Advertising agency employees represented a large portion of this sample (59%), with the remaining industries each contributing 5-10% to the sample. Because of few responses from television stations, they were merged with radio (total n=147).

Gender comparisons

Gender differences in job satisfaction were assessed in several different ways. First, individual item means (See Table 1) showed females most satisfied with how their work relates and contributes to a company's success and the pride and support they have for company goals and missions. Females were least satisfied with salary, opportunities for input and recognition and overall company morale. However, even these items were rated around the midpoint of the scale, suggesting no grave misgivings

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about any specific aspect of their advertising jobs. The largest discrepancies between genders on the individual items concerned salary, which will be discussed in greater detail later.

Next, an overall job satisfaction score was computed by summing the scores on 34 items, then dividing by 34. In addition, factor analysis with varimax rotation identified seven factors based on commonly accepted criteria of eigenvalues over one or more than 10 percent of variance explained (Harman, 1968). These factors explained about 50 percent of the variance in the sample and somewhat resembled, but did not totally match, the theoretical dimensions of job satisfaction (See Table 1). The most dominant factor, which explained about one-third of all variance in the sample, included a variety of intrinsic satisfiers such as getting ideas and input accepted, receiving encouragement and opportunities for advancement. Factor 2 included mostly the action tendency items that reflected a worker's willingness to stick with his or her current job. Factor 3 was comprised of motivators, with items relating to workers' pride and loyalty and other affective reactions to their companies. Factor 4 included items involving daily work experiences, such as the availability of adequate resources and equipment, as well as items concerning relations with supervisors. Factor 5 had three items dealing with co-worker relations, while Factor 6 included the two pay items (fair pay relative to others within that organization; comparable pay to

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others outside that organization with similar jobs). Factor 7 had three items that reflect employees' understanding of how their work fits in with the mission of the company. All factors had good reliability (alpha=+.7) except Factors 5 and 7 (alpha=.57).

Scores for the items loading on each factor were summed and then divided by the number of items to produce a standardized score interpretable on the 1-5 scale. Analysis of variance was then used to test differences between males and females for the overall composite satisfaction score as well as means for each of the seven factors. Industry segment was a second independent variable used in the ANOVAs because it was believed important differences could exist in male and female experiences across jobs in advertising agencies, corporate advertising departments and the various media. Subsequent analysis across segments of the industry on the overall composite measure confirmed differences existed, with business publication and broadcast advertising personnel exhibiting the highest satisfaction, while newspaper employees had the lowest satisfaction.

Females consistently (although not always significantly) indicated lower job satisfaction than males across the various measures (See Table 2). For the overall satisfaction composite, males (X=3.73) exhibited greater satisfaction than females (X=3.61) with the grand mean for the entire sample at 3.66. Although these mean differences appear slight, considered across all 34 individual items, males tended to be 3-4 points higher on

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the satisfaction scale than females.

On the "intrinsic satisfiers" factor, an interaction between area of industry and gender was found. Females had slightly greater satisfaction than males working in broadcasting and for business publications and considerably lower satisfaction working for consumer magazines and newspapers.

For the "stick with it-ness" factor, main effects emerged for both gender and industry. Females were less satisfied in all industry segments except business magazines, a somewhat surprising finding given that segment's perception as a male-dominated field.

A main effect of gender was found for the "company affects" factor, with the largest discrepancies between genders found in consumer magazines. Again, females were less satisfied across the board except for business publications.

Only an industry main effect was found for the "daily tasks/relations with boss" factor, with newspaper advertising personnel significantly less satisfied than the rest. Once again, female business publication employees enjoyed greater satisfaction than males.

For "co-worker relations," females consistently showed less satisfaction than males except those working for business magazines. The biggest gender differences appeared among broadcasting and consumer magazine personnel.

Both a gender main effect and interaction effect were significant for the "salary" factor, with females consistently

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less satisfied, even in business publication ad departments. Large discrepancies in satisfaction with pay appeared for both consumer and trade publications. This finding naturally led to comparisons of reported salary by gender and industry to see if actual salary discrepancies followed the pattern of satisfaction discrepancies.

Chi Square analysis showed (See Table 3) significant differences between males and females on income across the entire industry. Just over half of females earned less than $30,000 annually, while about half of males earned $45,000 plus. Discrepancies were particularly acute at upper income levels, with 35% of males earning over $60,000 compared to only 9% of females. Adding industry area to the analysis produced too many small cell sizes for stable statistical tests. However, several interesting patterns emerged. Broadcasting ad departments appeared to offer the most income equity between genders albeit still skewed in favor of males at the highest income brackets.

No differences were found for the "fit with company" factor, which is not surprising given the volatility of the three measures involved as reflected in the low reliability score.

Conclusions

Contrary to findings in other U.S. industries, females in the advertising industry consistently expressed slightly lower levels of job satisfaction compared to males. Females were decidedly less satisfied with aspects of the job such as pride

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and loyalty toward the company and co-worker relationships and salary. Males are more satisfied with their pay because they get paid more. In general, males and females share many of the same sources of satisfaction, as is seen by comparing overall item means with item means for females. This conforms with earlier findings by Phelan (1994) and others for other industries. Both groups rank feelings toward the company and fit with the company high and both rank satisfaction with salary low.

One bright spot for females in the advertising industry appears to be working for business publications. At least for respondents to this survey, females in advertising departments of business magazines exhibited greater not just equal levels of job satisfaction relative to males. These findings suggest advertising department managers concerned with job satisfaction, particularly among females, look to business publications as a model for satisfied employees. Broadcast advertising departments can be examined to understand how equitable pay structures can be assembled while maintaining profitability.

This study begins to establish an understanding of what job satisfaction is in the advertising industry and where it stands relative to other industries. In general, advertising practitioners are somewhat satisfied with their jobs. Within this context, employees seem least satisfied with their rewards, in regard to both salary and extrinsic recognition. This is not unique to the advertising industry. What is somewhat unique is the high level of satisfaction employees showed with working in advertising, as reflected in high item ratings concerning company goals and contributions to them as well as pride in the company. Managers must address the fact that females don't share quite the enthusiasm on these matters that males do.

From a theoretical standpoint, this study identified seven dimensions of advertising job satisfaction: 1)intrinsic rewards such as opportunities for advancement, recognition and getting ideas accepted; 2) a "stick with it" tolerance of current conditions, which may partially be an outgrowth of 1990s layoffs and firings; 3) affects toward the company, including pride and loyalty, perhaps because of the bastions of workers first hired in the 1960s and 70s; 4) daily work experiences, including relationships with supervisors, which in this industry can include those inside the employee's company as well as outside; 5) relationships with co-workers; 6) salary; and 7) understanding of how one's work fits with those goals. These dimensions come closest to matching Kalleberg's (1977), although the convenience dimension was not represented. However, this dimension seems less and less appropriate as society becomes more mobile, while at the same time, smaller with electronic communication. The increased popularity of working at home makes location of employment practically irrelevant.

Job conflicts with marriage and raising a family have been mentioned in the past as concerns by advertising women (Bodec, 1982) and may have been a major contributor to the dissatisfaction found among females in this study given their

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relatively young average age (33). The "spillover effect" of non-work experiences influencing satisfaction in the workplace and vice versa has been documented by Wilensky (1980) in the job satisfaction literature. It behooves the industry, particularly trade associations such as the American Association of Advertising Agencies or the American Advertising Federation, to investigate joint efforts to provide benefits such as child care and "work at home" opportunities to keep talented people in advertising and satisfied with their jobs. Non-work situations and experiences are important variables to consider when pursuing further progress in this area.

Future research can build further understanding of the dynamics behind some of the dominant factors that emerged in this study. For example, further probing may prove insightful on the relationships between employees and the numerous supervisors they may report to on a given advertising project, including bosses inside and outside the company. Understanding the relative contributions of different intrinsic rewards, such as feelings of accomplishment and belonging versus recognition and reward, may help managers choose better programs to implement when satisfaction wanes.

At least one important limitation of this study needs to be pointed out. Considering over 2,000 different companies were sent requests to participate in this survey, response from barely more than 200 makes the response rate fairly low (about 10%). Hence, this two-stage sampling method may still be the most

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effective given the lack of a valid list of advertising practitioners at all job levels. Only membership lists from advertising trade associations such as the American Advertising Federation-affiliated local chapters provide potential reach of the entire employee spectrum. The authors purposely avoided these lists because members are likely to be inherently optimistic and enthusiastic about their advertising jobs and atypical of most advertising personnel, although one previous study using local ad club members found similar dissatisfaction among females (Pokrywczynski & Crowley, 1989).

According to Tibor Scitovsky in his book The Joyless Economy (1976), jobs provide the major source of satisfaction in life. Based on the results of this study of job satisfaction in the advertising industry, employees are somewhat satisfied with life, but there's plenty of room for improvement.

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Table 1
Factor Analysis

Factor name	Factor 1 Intrinsic rewards Ldgs	h2	Factor 2 Stick with it-ness Ldgs	h2	Factor 3 Company affects Ldgs	h2	Factor 4 Relations w/ Boss Ldgs	h2	Factor 5 Co-worker relations Ldgs	h2	Factor 6 Salary Ldgs	h2	Factor 7 Fit w/ Company Ldgs	h2	Overall Mean	Female Mean
Input	686	57													3.19	3.11
Balanced promo in & out	.671	54													3.22	3.19
Ideas accepted	576	.50													3.23	3.20
Inadequate rewards	608	64													3.01	3.00
Variety of Rewards	586	55													3.38	3.34
Development Encouraged	577	42													3.43	3.43
Opportunities	570	52													3.10	3.03
Morale	493	60													3.11	3.07
Recognition	431	48													3.17	3.11
Go elsewhere than work			754	73											3.69	3.57
Reluctant go work			735	75											3.55	3.43
Go lunch sooner			660	54											3.50	3.42
Walk out sometimes			640	.71											3.71	3.63
Same if start over			625	48											3.44	3.35
Sense of accomplishment			550	60											3.91	3.83
Variety of tasks			.485	59											3.82	3.76
Proud of work					770	77									4.22	4.18
Support co goals					.711	.63									4.27	4.23
Loyal to company					.679	71									3.84	3.80
Rather work here than anywhere					.679	66									3.96	3.90
Boss helps							.517	.49							3.70	3.75
Inadequate resources							516	43							3.32	3.32
Do things vs conscience							.495	41							3.95	4.01
Boss delegates							.489	.43							3.54	3.51
Info to do job							466	.45							3.57	3.57
Friendliness of Coworkers									762	71					4.28	4.28
Cooperation									656	67					3.59	3.57
I'm seen as leader									480	56					3.75	3.65
Fair pay compared others											825	.76			3.06	2.97
Pay comparable to co-workers											.817	.75			3.18	3.01
Understand how work relates													758	.63	4.42	4.43
Work contributes to co goals													718	59	4.46	4.42
Understand job tasks													542	.49	4.28	4.29
Variance explained	34%		5.6%		4.6%		3.9%		3.9%		3.6%		3.2%			
Eigenvalue	11.4		1.9		1.6		1.3		1.3		1.2		1.1			
Reliability (alpha)	87		.87		.87		.75		.57		.74		.57			

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Table 2

Significant differences in job satisfaction by industry and gender

GENDER/ INDUSTRY Groups	Factor **Overall Job Sat. 34 items**		
	Males Mean	Females Mean	F
Agencies	3.79	3.62	G=16.4**
Advertisers	3.69	3.60	I= 5.9**
Cons. Mags	3.83	3.53	GxI=2.4
Broadcasting	3.74	3.78	
Bus. Mags	3.54	3.78	
Newspapers	3.51	3.39	

GENDER/ INDUSTRY Groups	Factor **Intrinsic Rewards**			Factor**Stick with it-ness**			Factor **Company affects**		
	Males Mean	Females Mean	F	Males Mean	Females Mean	F	Males Mean	Females Mean	F
Agencies	3.43	3.23	G=10.0	3.84	3.57	G=24.2**	4.13	4.02	G=5.2*
Advertisers	3.16	3.11	I=14.3	3.85	3.72	I= 4.1**	4.12	4.03	I=1.1
Cons. Mags	3.31	2.96	GxI=2.9*	4.00	3.57	GxI=1.9	4.28	3.99	GxI=1.6
Broadcasting	3.25	3.44		3.85	3.83		4.20	4.28	
Bus. Mags	3.12	3.42		3.45	3.66		3.98	4.17	
Newspapers	2.91	2.69		3.56	3.36		4.14	3.96	

GENDER/ INDUSTRY Groups	Factor **Relations w/ boss**			Factor **Relations w/ co-workers**			Factor **Salary**		
	Males Mean	Females Mean	F	Males Mean	Females Mean	F	Males Mean	Females Mean	F
Agencies	3.77	3.74	G=.08	3.99	3.86	G=11.8	3.34	2.95	G=48.4**
Advertisers	3.66	3.61	I=3.5**	3.93	3.82	I= 1.4	3.46	3.20	I= 1.7
Cons. Mags	3.31	3.66	GxI=2.0	4.03	3.79	GxI=1.3	3.68	2.85	GxI=2.5*
Broadcasting	3.71	3.76		4.30	3.74		3.31	3.20	
Bus. Mags	3.46	3.98		3.85	3.99		3.70	3.04	
Newspapers	3.55	3.50		3.77	3.78		3.12	3.00	

G=Gender main effect I=Industry main effect GxI= Interaction effect

F (11,1520) * p<.01 **p<.001

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Table 3

Income differences by gender

	up to $30,000	over $30M to $45,000	over $45M to $60,000	over $75,000
Males	n=150 23%	n=162 25%	n=100 16%	n=227 36%
Females	n=507 51%	n=267 27%	n=120 12%	n=91 9%

Chi Square= 220.49, $p<.001$

NOTE: 122 respondents failed to report income category (7%)

The Spiral of Silence and Its Impact on Feminist Voices in Public Opinion: A Case Study

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The Spiral of Silence and Its Impact on Feminist Voices in Public Opinion: A Case Study

Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silence theory and the impact of women's traditional relegation to the private sphere may help to explain Anita Hill's reluctance to talk about the alleged sexual harassment in the confirmation process of Clarence Thomas. Hill's reluctance to come forward and speak publicly on the issue may have been affected by the two interacting forces of the spiral of silence theory and women's historical non-public role.

The Nobel Peace Prize winner Mother Teresa said, "The worst sickness is not leprosy or tuberculosis, but the feeling of being respected by no one, of being unloved, deserted by everyone."[1] It is a simple statement: people do not want to be alone, deserted or isolated from their fellow human beings. To be accepted may be the greatest force in one's life and yet it is a force often unexamined in its impact on how people lead their public lives.

The spiral of silence is a public opinion and mass communication theory that does look at the forces of acceptance and isolation and how they effect public opinion. It is a theory that says "one's willingness to express an opinion about an issue in the face of opposition depends upon one's perception of the growing strength or weakness of that position in the community at large."[2]

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[1] Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, **The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion – Our Social Skin** (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 182.

[2] Dominic Lasorsa, "Political Outspokenness: Factors Working Against the Spiral of Silence," **Journalism Quarterly**, 68:131-140 (1991).

Noelle-Neumann referred to it as the spiral of silence because people are more apt to be silent if their opinion is different than the majority's opinion. In her words:

> One opinion confronts ... ever more frequently and confidently; the other is heard less and less. The more individuals perceive these tendencies and adapt their views accordingly, the more one faction appears to dominate and the other to be on the downgrade. Thus the tendency of the one to speak up and the other to be silent starts off a spiraling process which increasingly establishes one opinion as the prevailing one.[3]

Why do most people keep quiet when their opinion is counter to the majority? It appears most people remain silent because the fear of social isolation or ostracism is greater than the need to express one's opinion. With the exception of the immediate personal sphere, where social isolation and ostracism are not likely to take place, people will remain silent about their counter opinion.[4] And silence, as Thomas Hobbes pointed out, can be and is often interpreted as agreement.[5]

The desire to avoid isolation is a desire all humans seem to share. David Hume wrote, "[Even] men of the greatest judgement and understanding ... find it very difficult to follow their own reason or inclination, in opposition to that of their friends and daily companions."[6] John Locke similarly wrote:

> Solitude many men have sought, and been reconciled to: but nobody that has the least thought or sense of a man about him can live in society under the constant dislike and ill opinion of his familiars and those he converses with. This is a burden too heavy

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[3] Noelle-Neumann, op. cit., p. 42.

[4] Hernando Gonzalez, "Mass Media and the Spiral of Silence: The Philippines from Marcos to Aquino," **Journal of Communication**, Autumn 1988, p 33.

[5] Noelle-Neumann, op. cit., p. 6.

[6] Ibid., p. 75.

for human sufferance.[7]

Two observations about both Hume's and Locke's views must be noted. First, they are writing about men as an exclusive category: they are not using the word as an inclusive term exchangeable with 'humans.' Second, they are talking about interaction in the public sphere. The public sphere they refer to is the Victorian separate-spheres ideology where women were restricted to being private citizens while men operated in both the public and private spheres.[8] They were not referring to women as women did not have a public voice.

But both Hume and Locke are addressing the conditions that result in what is referred to as the articulation gap. The articulation gap is when people, finding no current or frequent repetition of their own opinions, lapse into silence. Their silence in the public sphere essentially renders them mute to society as a whole.[9]

Women have been mute to western society for much of its history. The spiral of silence theory has two important aspects when it comes to women's history and women's progress. First, there had to be some women, a hard-core minority, who broke the spiral of silence for public opinion to change. Second, the spiral of silence takes place in the realm of public opinion which is always in the public sphere. Women's historical confinement to the private sphere means that women did not have a voice. But, more importantly, as the lines between the public and private spheres slowly break down, women still have less access to public communication spheres such as the mass media.

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[7] Ibid., p. 70.

[8] Nancy Fraser, "Sex, Lies and the Public Sphere: Some Reflections on the Confirmation of Clarence Thomas," **Critical Inquiry**, Spring 1992, p. 609.

[9] Noelle-Neumann, op. cit., p. 173.

When Hobbes, Hume, Locke and Noelle-Neumann are talking about fear of isolation they are not talking about the response from the hard-core minority. Most of their discussions center around the average or rational man, and in Noelle-Neumann's case, the average or rational person. The hard-core minority is the portion of society that will speak out publicly: it sees isolation as the price it must pay for its public voice expressing what it believes to be the truth.[10]

The hard-core minority in the womens' movements have included anyone who dared say the unpopular or who espoused the controversial without quieting down.[11] The list could include Mary Wollstonecraft, Frances Wright, Sarah Grimke, Simone De Beauvoir, Betty Friedan, Kate Millet, Gloria Steinem, or Carol Gilligan: the list should include anyone who spoke for the advancement of women which has consistently been contrary to the tide of public opinion.

The difficulty of speaking out cannot be underplayed. Early in the nineteenth century, women were admonished and censured for breaking the Biblical mandate against women speaking in public. Frances Wright, an atheist, asserted "truth had any sex."[12] Sarah Grimke and Maria Stewart during their fight for abolition met with strong opposition sometimes being forced from the podium.[13] Even if a woman had the firm conviction to speak out on a cause, she could easily be silenced in the name of the predominant religion.

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[10] Ibid., p. 170.

[11] The plural is used here to indicate inclusion of the woman movement as well as the movements of this century.

[12] Josephine Donovan, **Feminist Theory** (New York, New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., Inc., 1992), p. 13.

During the women's movement of this century the forces against women speaking out were not as overt but access to a public voice was still limited. Women were under represented or not represented in all media with the exception of the women's magazines.[14]

But the women's magazines were no safe haven for women to openly express their opinions as usually the publisher and most key editors were male. This male dominance became the target of one hundred feminists on March 18, 1970, when they occupied the editorial offices of the ***Ladies' Home Journal*** demanding it publish a "liberated issue" of the magazine as well as having a female editor and an all-female staff and ending "exploitive" ads.[15] The result was an eight-page insert in the August 1970 issue.[16] The supplement, "The New Feminism," was written by non-staff and identified only with the collective byline of "The Women's Liberation Movement."[17] The group of women did pay a price for demanding a public voice: most news accounts characterized the women in a condescending manner and as radical or militant feminists, that is, social outcasts.

Before any women could speak out on their own behalf, they had to have access to public discourse. The second aspect of the spiral of silence

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[13] Ibid.

[14] See Kay Mills, "The Media and the Year of the Woman," and Anon., "Who's Covering What in the Year of the Woman," in **Media Studies Journal**, Winter/Spring 1993.

[15] Grace Lichtenstein, "Feminists Demand 'Liberation' In Ladies' Home Journal Sit-in," **The New York Times**, Thursday, March 19, 1970.

[16] Anon., "Ladies Journal Has "Lib' Section: Supplement Was Written by Militant Feminist Group,"**The New York Times**, July 28, 1970.

[17] The Women's Liberation Movement, "The New Feminism," **Ladies' Home Journal**, August 1970, 64-71.

that has affected the womens' movements more is the reality that public opinion always rests in the public sphere -- the very sphere women have had no or limited access to.

This limited access became more and more institutionalized with the rise of liberalism. By the nineteenth century, the separation of the private and public spheres in liberal theory grew into the false but widely accepted notion that the two separate spheres were equally important. The idea that the two spheres were equally valued seems absurd when viewed from the idea of access and movement from one sphere into the other. Men had access and movement within both. Women were confined to one. Where is the equality in a structure that excludes half the population from being public citizens? As women have asked since the seventeenth century, 'If all men are born free, how is it that all women are born slaves?' [18] Locke's view, which was readily adopted by most of the male thinkers of his time and beyond, was that the public sphere was man's and the private sphere was man's and woman's.[19] All social life that occurred outside the domestic sphere was man's. For women to change their lot was doubly hard. They had to speak up as a minority but first they had to break down the barriers that kept them from being participants in public discourse and thereby having an influence on public opinion.

The term public opinion may be misleading and on the surface seem a simple phenomenon as it employs two words with simple meanings. But public opinion is not simply opinion that is public. Rather, the term refers to the climate or prevailing conditions of a community's viewpoints which may include a false sense of opinion consensus or a false sense of the majority opinion. Public opinion always has implied values and mores. People know if one's opinion will be seen as 'good' or 'bad' by the society. People, when talking about published or broadcasted specific opinion information, have a sense about the majority and minority opinions as well as a sense of the distribution and frequency of those opinions.[20] Likewise, the relative strengths and weaknesses of differing positions tend to be intuitively known by people. In a study where college students were asked to identify climates of public opinion on the same issue in their college community and their hometown, students could clearly and accurately identify differences.[21]

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[18] Carole Pateman, " Feminists Critiques of the Public/Private Dichotomy," in Carole Pateman, **The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory** (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1988), p. 124.

[19] Ibid., p. 121.

Public opinion is only arrived at by public discourse. The public discourse, primarily carried out through the media for the last 160 years, is limited to "those persons in a community who are ready and in the position to express themselves responsibly about questions of public relevance and thereby exercise an office of criticism and control ... in the name of the governed."[22] If this explanation of who can be part of the public dialogue is carefully examined, women were not seriously included in this dialogue for much of this country's history. Major players in the public dialogue are politicians and even seventy years after enfranchisement, women are still under-represented at every level of government. With a country that is 51 percent female, women are pitifully represented on the national level with the House being eleven percent women and the Senate eight percent women. Nowhere do women have political parity with men: the world ratio of male to female politicians is ten to one.[23] Women working in the media are slightly better represented than their political counterparts but remain under represented to this day.[24]

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[20] Noelle-Neumann, op. cit., p. 6.

[21] Carolyn Lin and Michael Salwen, "Predicting the Spiral of Silence in Two Communities," Paper presented to the Mass Communication and Society division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Washington, D.C., August 1995, p. 2.

[22] Noelle-Neumann, op. cit., p. 62.

Not all women could gain access to the public dialogue. As stated above, people have the right of participation in public opinion when they are *in the position to express themselves responsibly about questions of public relevance.* The condition that a woman have position, responsibility and knowledge about what is publicly relevant cannot be overlooked. Most women who have had a voice in the public discourse in our country have met this condition of position or credibility.

Women with position have been women who by their relationships have status, women with money, women with marketable talent, women with education or women with a combination of these attributes. The person often cited as the earliest advocate of women's rights in this country, Abigail Adams, had position mainly due to her marriage.[25] Judith Sargent Murray was "the daughter of a prosperous merchant" and later the wife of a preacher.[26]

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[23] Anon., "Outlook," **U.S. News & World Report**, February 13, 1995, p. 45.

[24] See Kay Mills, "The Media and the Year of the Woman," and Anon., "Who's Covering What in the Year of the Woman," in **Media Studies Journal**, Winter/Spring 1993.

[25] Alice Rossi, ed., **The Feminist Papers: From Adams to De Beauvoir** (New York, New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), p. 7.

[26] Ibid., p. 16.

The sisters Sarah and Angelina Grimke grew up in a southern upper-class household.[27] Mary Wollstonecraft had position by nature of her marketable talent.[28] Although she did try several of the occupations that were suitable to young women at the time such as taking care of children and being a governess, it was her remarkable writing that enabled her voice to be heard by the public.[29] Education played an extremely important role in giving some of the earliest women's rights advocates a voice: Frances Wright had access to a college library while growing up[30] and Margaret Fuller's studies have been described as "arduous."[31]

But it wasn't only women in earlier times who needed position to be heard. Women were heard in the 1960s in this country precisely because they had position. Consider Betty Friedan's role in the public discussion of women's rights. It was not solely that she was the author of ***The Feminine Mystique***. Her position came from writing a *best-selling* book -- a book that in 1963 brought feminism into the public dialogue. Her position was further elevated with an invitation to the White House and a news media anxious to talk to her.[32] Friedan would go on to be one of the founders of the National Organization for Women, an organization that received a moderate amount of media attention. Not coincidently, the bulk of the organization's "members were primarily drawn from the ranks of the elite: articulate achievers with ... good media presence."[33]

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[27] Ibid., p. 282.

[28] Miriam Schneir, ed., **Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings** (Vintage Books/Random House, 1972), p. 5.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Alice Rossi, op. cit., p. 88.

[31] Ibid., p. 145.

[32] Myra Marx Ferre and Beth B. Hess, "Re-emergence of a Feminist Movement, 1963-1970," **Controversy and Coalition: The New Feminist Movement** (Boston:Twayne Publishers, 1985), p. 54.

Even today's voices in the women's movement have the position needed to get listened to: Susan Faludi, author of ***Backlash***, hails from the prestigious New York ***Times*** while Naomi Wolf, author of ***The Beauty Myth*** and ***Fire With Fire***, is a Yale graduate.[34]

Position, or credibility, is not enough to have someone use his or her access to the dialogue. Unless the person is of the hard-core minority, he or she will not initially speak up as minority opinions are relegated to the fringe of society and seen as less valuable and less morally good. In this society, the small minority opinion is often framed by the media as not only aberrant and deviant but as less viable and less morally sound.[35]

Research has found that some people are more prone to talk and this relates directly to power. As Noelle-Neumann explains, "In a public situation, men are more disposed to join in talk about controversial topics than are women, ... those belonging to higher social strata than those from lower social strata."[36] People who perceive they have power will speak up. The result of this tendency has definite consequences for the public's awareness of various opinions. Women and people of lower socio-economic status have been found to generally be less likely to voice their opinion about a controversial issue.[37] Furthermore, a threat of isolation -- not social isolation itself -- is enough to silence anyone who has less self confidence.[38] Women in our society tend to have more issues with self confidence and self esteem than do men.[39] Which means even today, women have more difficulty speaking up.

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[33] Ibid., p. 54-55.

[34] Naomi Wolf, **Fire With Fire** (New York, New York: Random House, 1993), p. 375.

[35] See Pamela Shoemaker, "Political group viability as a predictor of media attitudes," **Journalism Quarterly**, 61:889-892 (1984) and Pamela Shoemaker, "Media treatment of deviant political groups," **Journalism Quarterly**, 61:66-75 (1984).

[36] Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, op. cit., p. 24.

What tends to complicate the matter further is the media's role in two areas. First, public opinion has two sources: the firsthand observation of the real world and the always secondhand observation through the media. Most of public opinion today is perceived through the media. This means that what does not receive attention does not exist.[40] If an opinion does not exist for the society being fed by the media, it has no chance of being part of the public agenda or dialogue.

The second role is how well the media are able to give women and their issues a voice -- how well media represent women. Better representation of any marginalized group in any realm of society will have impact. In the political arena, legislative bodies that have more female representatives have better legislation on women's issues. [41] In the media, research has demonstrated that at newspapers where there are more out gays and lesbians, coverage on gay and lesbian issues is perceived to be better.[42] Other studies have

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[37] Lin and Salwen, op. cit.

[38] Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, op. cit., p. 47.

[39] Gloria Steinem, Revolution From Within: A Book of Self-Esteem (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1992), P. 19-61.

[40] Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, op. cit., p. 150.

[41] Elizabeth Adell Cook, Sue Thomas, and Clyde Wilconx, eds., **The Year of the Woman: Myths and Realities**, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994).

[42] Joseph P. Bernt and Marilyn Greenwald, an initial study sponsored by the National Gay and Lesbian Journalists Association, January 1993.

suggested that newspapers that have a higher percentage of African Americans on their staffs have better coverage of the African American community and its issues. Women and their representation in the media cannot be the sole exception to better and more accurate coverage of their issues.

Looking at the composition of men and women in the media, like many arenas of society, women are still the minority and often viewed as an anomaly in the nation's newsrooms.[43] Women have made progress as the overall newspaper workforce is 39 percent women but women still only account for 18 percent of news executives.[44]

If one accepts the three major forces affecting the content and the delivery of the news are the reporters, the news organizations and the sources, then none of these forces should be overlooked.[45] Nor should the male-female composition of these three be ignored.

Evidence suggests that gender does have some role in coverage. Even though 39 percent of newspaper reporters and editors are women, the assignments they receive and the play their stories receive are different than their male counterparts. In a 1992 study of ten of the most prestigious U.S. dailies, page one bylines were 70.7 percent male and 29.3 percent female.[46] The news media in this country are charged with the responsibility to give an objective account of the story. Inherent in this responsibility is the assumption the media consumer will be presented with all sides of the story and a variety of opinions. If men dominant the media, then their opinions will too.

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[43] Kay Mills, op. cit.

[44] Ibid., p. 25.

[45] W. Lance Bennett, **News: The Politics of Illusion** (New York: Longman Press, 1988), p. 106.

[46] Anon., "Who's Covering What in the Year of the Woman," **Media Studies Journal**, Winter/Spring 1993, 135-138.

Anita Hill: A Case Study in the Spiral of Silence

If one looks at the spiral of silence theory and applies it to Anita Hill and her role in the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings, one is left with a better understanding of both the theory and the Hill-Thomas situation. A person's willingness to voice a viewpoint in the face of opposition depends upon one's perception of the growing strength or weakness of that position and the demographic sub-groups to which they belong. It is a wonder Hill spoke up at all. Two forces in the climate of opinion were against her: the rising sentiment that Thomas would be easily confirmed and the general feeling that sexual harassment is either blown out of proportion by the victims, is not a serious problem, or does not exist at all.

Prior to the hearings, Senators and Bush administration people alike believed Thomas, in Senator John Danforth's words, "had it won."[47] Conventional wisdom had Thomas with a secure sixty votes in the Senate.[48] Even after the first day of the hearings went rather badly, no one seemed to think his confirmation could be in danger. It was, in fact, "followed by an orchestrated stampede of support."[49] The Bush administration was playing political hardball and going forward with all their modern campaigns tactics to get Thomas confirmed. The feeling in Washington was that it was inevitable

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[47] Jean Mayer and Jill Abramson, **Strange Justice: The Selling of Clarence Thomas** (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992) p. 215.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid., p. 219.

Thomas would make it to the high court. Even the most liberal of the Democratic Senators -- Kennedy, Metzenbaum, and Leahy -- seemed to sit back and watch the tide of public opinion say Thomas would be nominated.[50] What opposition there was from outside interest groups was described as "weak and perfunctory."[51] Hill also had talked to former colleagues, most still in Washington and insiders in the political circle,[52] all shared the belief Thomas would be confirmed. This information made Hill perceive public opinion of Thomas to run in direct opposition of her opinion of him and undoubtedly diminished her willingness to speak publicly about him. In the arena of public opinion, it appeared as if the outcome of the war was known before the battle had even begun.

If the public sentiment and insider comments about Thomas' impending confirmation were not enough to silence Hill, then the public's understanding and feeling about sexual harassment may have been. Our society, even with the high level of documented sexual abuse cases against women, still has great contempt for the victims.[53] A variety of studies in the last ten years have found the percentage of women sexually harassed on the job ranges from 40 to 70 percent. Yet only five percent of those who felt they have been harassed file any kind of complaint or lawsuit.[54] Women who have been harassed have been silenced. And members of oppressed groups are silenced in a variety of ways ranging from being discouraged, shamed, mocked, ignored, or punished for speaking out.[55] Victims of sexual harassment have had a false sense of the prevalence of the problem because very few were talking about it publicly. Most victims of sexual harassment responded with suffering in silence or switching jobs: Hill initially did both.[56]

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[50] Ibid., p. 218.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Gloria Borger and Ted Gest with Jeanne Thorton, "The Untold Story," **U.S. News & World Report**, October 12, 1992, p. 31.

[53] Robert Jensen and Elvia Arriola, "Feminism and Free Expression: Silence and Voice," Paper presented to the Commission on the Status of Women, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Atlanta, Georgia, August 1994.

[54] Mayer and Abramson, op. cit., p. 223.

The idea that victims of sexual harassment suffer in silence is like other situations that seem not to be of great importance, high incidence or have a social stigma attached to them. Family violence and sexual abuse are examples: both claim more women as victims. The key concept here is that the situations *seem* to be happening minimally. Other people may very well share the same experience and opinion but people remain silent because the fear of social isolation is greater than the need to express one's experience and the accompanying opinion.

Hill had confided in a few friends about Thomas prior to the confirmation hearings but had never thought about accusing him in public.[57] Even after she had spoken with staffers of members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Hill believed the charges remained anonymous and did not have her name attached to them.[58] Her very descriptions of why she was resigned to keeping silent smack right at the core of not wanting to be socially isolated. Hill could not imagine people believing her claim that the man who was supposed to be the number-one protector against sexual harassment was guilty of the very crime. She also thought she would lose her job, be labeled a whistle blower or be called a liar.[59] Hill said she "feared" if no other accusers came forward, her accounts would be branded as "an isolated incident by someone who had been recently divorced."[60] All of these things are potentially extremely socially isolating.

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[55] Jensen and Arriola, op. cit., p. 8.

[56] Mayer and Abramson, op. cit., p. 224.

[57] Ibid., p. 221.

[58] Borger, Gest, and Thorton, op. cit., p.30.

In addition to above reasons of why Hill felt she would not be believed, Hill is a member of three demographic sub-groups that have been reluctant to speak publicly or have not had access to a legitimate public voice. Female, black, and born poor, Hill's hesitancy is not surprising

As Hill seemed to know, her charges against Thomas were even more isolating if you believe you are the only one to have experienced them. Others sensed this, too, having fears about coming forward about Thomas' alleged strange sexual appetite. Another black female former employee at the EEOC, Angela Wright had described Thomas' behavior in a way that was consistent with Hill's description. She spoke to Senate aides about Thomas and was asked to submit a statement for the record but never appeared before the committee.[61] After her lawyer informed her the questioning she would undergo was characterized by Senator Biden as "rough,"[62] she refused to come forward voluntarily feeling she had too much at risk[63] Kay Savage, another former employee of the EEOC, was described as "afraid" and

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[59] Mayer and Abramson, op. cit., p. 223.

[60] Ibid., p. 234.

[61] Borger, Gest, and Thorton, op. cit., p.36.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Mayer and Abramson, op. cit., p. 322.

"scared" to come forward although she had witnessed firsthand his penchant for published pornography.[64] Both of these corroborating witnesses were silenced by fear that seems to have been reinforced by those on the Senate Judiciary Committee or by the Committee's staff. Rose Jourdain, another fellow EEOC employee who was hospitalized at the time of the hearings, was willing to corroborate the allegations but was never called.[65]

Hill, or any of Thomas' other accusers, could not be categorized as part of the hard-core minority when it came to sexual harassment or women's issues. Such a minority sees isolation as the price it must pay for its public voice. Hill agreed to talk confidentially to the Senate Judiciary Committee because she believed that other people were also coming forward. She believed this because some aides told her there had been *rumors*. She incorrectly interpreted this as meaning there were others and that those other people would speak publicly.[66] Only after Hill's allegations were revealed in the press did Hill speak publicly about Thomas and his alleged inappropriate behaviour.[67]

Those involved with trying to get Thomas confirmed understood the role of a second or third accuser all too well. As White House communications director David Demarest said, "With only one accuser, and everyone else saying something contrary, the public is doubtful. But with two accusers ... the public really listens."[68] Demarest is articulating the intuitiveness of the spiral of silence: the more one side speaks, the more likely that opinion will prevail. By having only one of Thomas' accusers speak, the court of public opinion would side for the majority of the rhetoric: Anita Hill was one lone, lying voice and Clarence Thomas was the target of a political set-up. The public was listening but only got part of the message.

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[64] Ibid., p. 328.

[65] Borger, Gest, and Thorton, op. cit., p.36.

[66] Mayer and Abramson, op. cit., p. 231.

[67] Borger, Gest, and Thorton, op. cit., p.31.

[68] Mayer and Abramson, op. cit.,p. 324.

Although the media should be credited with breaking the story and making Anita Hill's allegations public, it did not go far enough in doing its job. At the time the story broke, seventeen Senators knew about the accusations and countless members of their staffs did, too.[69] In a town where few people keep their lips zipped, one has to ask how the media missed the fact that there were other people willing to speak because of their firsthand knowledge of Thomas and his questionable behavior.

The part of the message the public got to listen to was one-sided. Regardless, when the public listens it makes judgements about whether someone is good or bad, whether they are right or wrong. People know if one's opinion will be seen as good or bad by the society. People have a sense about the majority and minority opinions as well as a sense of the distribution and frequency of those opinions. People know the relative strengths and weaknesses of differing positions. Hill, understanding the public opinion on sexual harassment better than most because of her experience at the EEOC, may have known people would not see her lone allegations as serious. She may have not been surprised by the all-too-common sentiment expressed by Senator Metzenbaum reacting to Hill's allegations, "If that's sexual harassment, half the senators on Capital Hill could be accused."[70]

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[69] Borger, Gest, and Thorton, op. cit., p.31.

Hill came forward initially because she thought she was not alone. This lowered her perception of the risk of social isolation. But why did the individuals on either side of the confirmation fight treat her allegations as serious?

Hill had position and credibility. As a tenured law professor with a J.D. from Yale, people would at the very least consider her allegations.[71] Add to her credentials comments from former colleagues such as "She is one of the most level-headed, fair-minded people I know," and many in Washington felt she had a high degree of believability.[72] Senator Paul Simon knew if her allegations were to be taken seriously she had to have credibility: in his words, "I wanted to find out if she was a flake."[73] He found her to be both serious and dignified.

Even though Hill had position, she was heard as a lone voice against a chorus of disbelievers. This occurred through the media's coverage of the hearings. The public got to see one woman tell her story. What was not in the forefront were the others who had allegedly witnessed Thomas' questionable sexual behavior. The public received little coverage of some of the women in the Congress who felt the Senate was not taking the charge of sexual harassment seriously. Senator Barbara Mikulski and Representative Pat Schroeder both publicly questioned the Senate's handling of the situation prior to Anita Hill speaking publicly.[74] But the media's focus was on the testimony of both Hill and Thomas -- framing the hearings as a battle where there would surely have to be a winner and a loser.

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[70] Ibid., p. 235.

[71] Naomi Wolf, op. cit., p. 47.

[72] Jean Mayer and Jill Abramson, op. cit., p. 227.

[73] Ibid., p. 249.

The loser, as we all know by now, was Hill with her lone voice going against majority opinion. A ***Newsweek*** poll in October of 1991, the month of the hearings, showed only 27 percent of women believed that Thomas had sexually harassed Hill.[75] By December of 1992, ***Newsweek*** found that 51 percent of women believed Hill's testimony.[76] A ***U.S. News & World Report*** poll a year after the hearings found similar trends.[77] Other polls reflected the same shift with a minimal margin of 20 more percentage points in favor of Hill's testimony.[78] Professional women were more likely to believe Hill from the beginning assumedly because they identified with Hill's experience.[79] Slowly, public opinion about Hill's allegations and sexual harassment changed.

Some have charged that the media helped Hill's cause and that Hill received more coverage because there were more women working in the media.[80] This author finds such an assertion questionable because much of the coverage was decidedly framed as skeptical of the woman and supportive of the man.

If one was to take a poll on sexual harassment today one might find

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[74] Ibid., p. 269.

[75] Eloise Salholz, "Did America 'get it'?" **Newsweek**, December 28, 1992, 120:26:20(3).

[76] Ibid.

[77] Borger, Gest, and Thorton, op. cit., p.31-36.

[78] Jean Mayer and Jill Abramson, op. cit., p. 352.

[79] Clyde Wilcox, "Why Was 1992 the "Year of the Woman"? Explaining Women's Gains in 1992," in Elizabeth Adell Cook, Sue Thomas, and Clyde Wilconx, eds., **The Year of the Woman: Myths and Realities**, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994), p. 7.

[80] Naomi Wolf, op. cit.

even more public support for the notion that sexual harassment does happen and is a serious problem. Public opinion shifted as women who had been harassed and silent for so long heard someone else break the silence. As Hill's experience was echoed through out the country, the spiral was broken and one voice became many.

But as Hill reminded a group in South Bend, Indiana, last year, "The only question that remains is whether we will speak out as a community. One thing that is for certain is we need *to stop letting our fear* of being labeled a feminist *silence us*," (emphasis added).[81] Of her own experience she said, "If I have learned nothing else since 1991, I have learned women can be an active and vocal community voice."[82]

Women's voices and feminist causes are more likely than ever to be part of the public dialogue. More women have a public life working outside the home or serving in a political office. There are more women in the media -- the window to public opinion. There are more female sources used in the media and there are more female professionals and experts for reporters to call. More women have position and that can help lessen every woman's fear of speaking out.

But public opinion is always tied to a time and a space -- and undoubtedly that time and space can be unfriendly to women and feminist causes. Anita Hill was just one woman caught in the cruel crossfire of public opinion. She was caught because she dared to speak up about an issue controversial in society. Controversy is the prerequisite for the potential of isolation in the spiral of silence.[83] Hill expressed an opinion that was contrary to firmly established public opinion. She asserted that she had been sexually harassed. Meanwhile, public opinion was that women almost never are sexually harassed. The public sentiment that was prominent was sexual harassment is infrequent and unimportant.

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[81] Nancy Armour, "Hill: Don't let fear breed silent suffering," **Lafayette Journal and Courier**, March 22, 1995.

[82] Ibid.

There is always a potential risk for speaking out on an issue in public. For women it may be more difficult in a society where most of the power remains male. But speaking out leads to the end of the spiral of silence and a better idea of what a public's true opinion is. For women, that may mean feeling less marginalized in a patriarchal society and perhaps ending the grip the patriarchy has on women's freedom.

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[83] Noelle-Neumann, op. cit., p. 63.

Abortion, Moral Maturity, and Civic Journalism

Abstract

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Journalistic coverage of the abortion issue has matured in tone and content since the 1940s when women's magazines first broke the public silence on the issue. Early coverage included grisly stories of women's suffering along with attempts to find solutions to the social problems that were driving women to seek abortions. After a return to silence in the 1950s, the reform movement of the 1960s gave way to a demand for repeal of abortion regulation. Feminists' contention that "the personal is political" helped to blur the line between private and public issues in America and to push abortion to the political front burner. Journalistic coverage and public rhetoric bleached out all shades of gray between the pro-life and pro-choice arguments until the 1990s, when a new common ground rhetoric has begun to emerge, aided by the communitarian spirit that has given rise to the civic journalism movement.

This paper asserts that public rhetoric on abortion and the journalistic coverage of it provides a framework for the discussion of the public and private implications of gender-based orientations, the stages of moral maturity, and the need for a guiding narrative to direct both public debate and the journalistic coverage of it.

Presented at the 1996 AEJMC national convention, Anaheim, Commission on the Status of Women.

Abortion, Moral Maturity, and Civic Journalism

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Abortion, Moral Maturity, and Civic Journalism

Introduction

From the time of ancient Greece to the present, Western societies have employed an array of arguments to regulate abortion (Flanders, 1991). Abortion's meaning has been hard for most to fix, perhaps because it represents a unique nexus of human concerns—life, death, sexual mores, religious beliefs and gender definitions. Pregnancy is itself a condition that defies metaphor.

In the 1960s and 70s in the United States, this old debate flared up with unprecedented vigor and aligned itself with other movements in society—the sexual revolution (and the social effects of the birth control pill), the zero population growth movement, and most particularly the new wave of feminism (Luker, 1984; Maloy & Patterson, 1992a). Converging social forces, which also included the civil rights movement and the after effects of the war against Nazism, influenced the shape of modern American rhetoric on abortion (Mensch & Freeman, 1993). The result, as documented by Celeste Condit (1990), has been the abortion debate's peculiar frame in American discourse as a simple polarity between the two ideographic[1] concepts—Life and Choice.

In the U.S. Supreme Court's 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision, which legalized abortion in the United States, this polarity between the two extreme arguments of pro-life versus pro-choice received legal recognition. The court's majority, giving nearly complete sanction to the pro-choice argument, also gave the United States the most liberal abortion policy among Western democracies. Despite the court's definitive language and its repeated willingness to renew its stand, the current law has failed to settle the abortion issue in the public's mind. Instead, abortion became a central battleground in America's culture wars (Hunter, 1994).

Recently scholars have begun to explore how and why the abortion debate has divided the country so meanly (Condit, 1990; Dionne Jr., 1991; Glendon, 1987; Hunter, 1991, 1992; Mensch & Freeman, 1993; Rosenblatt, 1992a, 1992b; Tribe, 1990). Some scholars have identified alternative approaches to the issue in other developed nations (Glendon, 1987). Others have cited areas of common ground within and outside the current arguments, tentatively expressed by grassroots movements for common ground (Chasin & Herzig, 1994; Ginsburg, 1989; Hunter, 1992; Rosenblatt, 1992a; Sass, 1990) , or in the voices of women who actually face birth-or-abortion decisions in their own lives (Gilligan, 1982; Maloy & Patterson, 1992a).

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[1] Ideograph is "A word or short phrase that sums up key social commitments and thereby constitutes a society," according to Celeste Condit (1990, p. 227).

The popular media, especially journalism in its feisty post-Watergate form, are frequently blamed for inflaming abortion rhetoric and reducing it to simplistic terms (Hunter, 1994). Notwithstanding the accuracy of such blame, an examination of the popular media's treatment of the abortion issue from the 1940s through the 1990s shows that during these fifty years Americans have used frameworks other than the pro-life/pro-choice dichotomy to discuss the abortion issue. Abortion coverage has changed considerably in its tone and substance during this period.

This paper will apply a feminist voice/experience analysis (Bristor & Fischer, 1993) to the coverage of abortion in American popular media from the 1940s to the 1990s. This analysis will be used:

(1) to establish that the feminine means of moral reasoning, i.e., the ethic of care (Gilligan, 1982) that is generally relegated to the private sphere, has emerged gradually into the foreground of American public discourse on abortion, and

(2) to trace a gradual maturation of public discourse along the path of moral development established by Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986), and other scholars in the feminist voice tradition.

The ethic of care and responsibility, which Gilligan (1982) and Belenky, et al. (1986) identified in studies of women, calls into question the stages of moral development defined by Kohlberg (1981) and Perry (1970), who equated moral maturity with considerations of rights and justice after conducting studies only with men. According to Belenky et al. (1986), the masculine orientation, which is based on ideals of rights and justice, is predicated on separation and individuality, while the ethic of care and responsibility is grounded in a commitment to the connectedness of human relationships.

For both men and women, however, moral maturation means progressing from selfish, black-and-white thinking to increasing levels of complexity and concern for others, a process accomplished by wrestling with questions about the nature of competing social goods, the meaning of justice, the extent of responsibility, and other dialectical quandaries. Such questioning is prompted by a guiding narrative,[2] an agreed-upon set of public virtues that tells us who we are as a people and what our public and private roles should be. In the post-modern climate of individualism and diversity, the religious, secular, and civic narratives that once guided us have yielded to competing personal and provincial imperatives. The therapeutic culture (Lasch, 1979; Rieff, 1966) encourages a focus on private convictions at the expense of the common good and public dialogue. Such self centeredness stymies the moral maturation process for individual women and men—and even society—despite our widespread need for social and ethical clarity.

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[2] Narrative is used here to mean a set of principles, sometimes told as a story or parable, against which a society weighs its moral choices. Later, narrative refers to simple story telling. The authors trust that the two uses of the term will be clear within the context.

Hopeful signs of the re-emergence of common ground rhetoric—reminiscent of care-based narratives in pre-*Roe v. Wade* women's magazines—recently have been seen in the courts (Sullivan & Goldzwig, 1995), the media (Gillooly, 1995), the popular press (McKenna, 1995; Wolf, 1995), and in the formation of organizations such as the Common Ground Network for Life and Choice. This paper argues that the search for common ground on the abortion issue represents a push to a higher level of moral maturity in our society, guided by a narrative of responsibility and justice with mercy, as the feminine ethic of care emerges at last into the public dialogue, tempering the long-dominant language of individual rights with a relational concern for others. It also argues that civic journalism—with its emphasis on providing viable choices and making citizenship work (Charity, 1995)—may become a beacon for guiding Americans beyond their culture wars to find maturity and commonality in the post-modern age..

Because this paper is an outline for what the authors hope will be a much larger work, its findings are necessarily distilled and condensed. The authors ask the readers' indulgence as they gloss over assertions with an understanding that further empirical support will be included when the argument is presented in its entirety.

Public discourse on abortion

Journalism and other nonfiction writing often bridge the gap between private and public life in America. Story telling is the vehicle sometimes used to cross that bridge. Such publicly told stories connect the readers to the lives and experiences of persons who may otherwise remain foreign and strange to them.

"Narrative ways of knowing function collectively to affirm the values of multiplicity and connection," Carol Witherell and Nel Noddings (1991) write. "Furthermore, narrative processes function as a connected *medium* for knowing—an embodiment of an intimate relation between the knower and the known" (Witherell, 1991, p. 50). Public story telling helps diverse Americans define who they are as a people, a major means for societal self-definition.

The technique that modern journalism texts refer to as the Wall Street Journal formula (Rich, 1994, p. 216-219), is a well established way of personalizing a public issue by framing it in the narrative of an affected individual. Such personal narratives spell out the relational implications of policy issues, that is, how this public policy affects people where they live—in communities and families. Studies show that those people—mainly women—who evaluate personal ethical choices on the basis of care and responsibility considerations need such narrative details in order to understand relationship obligations and decide what is moral in any given situation.[3]

Rhetorical use of the personal narrative has been a primary means of persuasion in the abortion debate of the last six decades, but the stories being told have changed. In the 1940s the stories searched into family and workplace conditions for the root causes of why women were seeking abortions. In the 1950s and 1960s, they became morality tales told by doctors. In the late 1960s and 70s, pro-life and pro-choice advocates used them as rhetorical weapons to polarize the arguments. In their most recent appearance they are being used again as a means to explore common ground.

1940s: Woman to woman

Until the 1940s, abortion was only discussed in hushed tones on the private level, where women had always "pass(ed) abortion information behind the backs of men and 'moral' society" (Luker, 1984, p. 99). Abortion was not a suitable subject for polite company, much less public discourse. Nonetheless, the subject was opened boldly, if not frequently, in articles by women, for women, and in magazines largely edited by women. The message was clear and strong: Women were being butchered by unscrupulous abortionists. Stories told of women losing their fertility and even their lives in filthy back alleys.

And abortion was as common as it was horrible. In 1941, Jean Ward, quoting medical experts, estimated that "twenty to forty percent of pregnancies terminate in abortion" (Ward, 1941, p. 17). Three years later, in a *Good Housekeeping* article, Maxine Davis (1944) said that abortion was "increasing in this country today at an alarming rate," with some estimates claiming one abortion was performed "to every two or three full-term deliveries" (p. 45).

These articles also brought surprising news: "Contrary to general opinion," wrote Davis (1944), "it is not the unmarried mother who supports the abortionist. Nine-tenths of all abortions occur among married women between 25 and 35 who already have several children" (p. 45). The harm done by illegal abortionists, these articles pointed out, devastated not only the women but their already strained families.

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[3] In the hypothetical case used by both Kohlberg in his study of men and Gilligan's of women, a poor man named Heinz wonders if he should steal a drug he cannot afford in order to save his wife's life. While the men in Kohlberg's study accepted the example as it was presented and puzzled it through, the women Gilligan worked with asked questions about Heinz's particular circumstances. They wanted to know, for example, whether Heinz and his wife had children and if the family would have a means of support if he were jailed. The women tried to locate the morality of Heinz's choice within his particular set of relational obligations.

As horrible as these abortions were, the articles indicated they were also symptoms of other problems. Morris Fishbein, editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, thought the current abortion statistics called for "serious consideration of this widespread sociological and economic problem" (Ward, 1941, p. 17). Ward also quoted a Dr. Robert L. Dickerson of the Academy of Medicine as saying that poor women needed to be supplied with better birth control information and that "present laws should be adjusted so that abortions—if abortions *must* be—can be done openly by properly trained surgeons with proper medical and nursing care, rather than in the unclean, furtive and dangerous manner now prevalent" (p. 21).

Yet most articles spoke out against legalizing abortion. Abortion, Ward (1941) implied, was too drastic a solution for a temporary problem. These writers pointed out women were being driven to abortion by a lack of family planning services and by unsympathetic family and workplace law and regulation. Gretta Palmer (1943), writing in *Woman's Home Companion* in 1943, reported that many working wives found war-time factories were inhospitable to pregnancy. Palmer said women "bootlegged" their pregnancies, hiding bulging bellies in order to keep their jobs. "Half the war factories discharge women as soon as their pregnancy is reported," Palmer reported (p. 137).

While fellow workers gossiped about birth control and helped women cover their pregnancies, they also met in the restrooms to discuss how to get an abortion. One Midwest midwife told Palmer she had done 45 abortions the previous Saturday. "The girls like Saturday because that gives them the weekend to rest," the midwife said. Most took Monday off, and the "three-day absence" became a euphemism for illegal abortion (Palmer, 1943, p. 138).

These 1940s articles constructed a social mythology about who was having abortions and why. Using "good" women caught in unfortunate circumstances allowed readers to identify and sympathize with their plight. The women were not just "good" because they were married, or young, or "innocent" in another way; they were also "good" because their motives were based in what they saw as their responsibility to others. By noting the woman's situation within her family, the narratives often stressed the high cost a child would exact upon other relationships. The specific details would be important to the magazine's readers. If abortion reform was to become a subject of public discussion, then women were most likely to be drawn into it by claims that current policies were harming relationships, especially in families.

Writers during the 1940s did more than nod to the social factors that caused so many women to seek illegal abortions. In this historic moment, during and immediately after the war, these popular magazines criticized a society too hard at war and too little concerned with the wives and children left behind. They also lifted the lid off the issue and introduced it—albeit tentatively— into that still small corner of public discourse where women could discuss their concerns among themselves.

Early 1950s: Return to silence

After the war, the pressure was on women to return to home and family and give the jobs to men. The gross national product soared, allowing many families to thrive on one income. Most of the century's earlier trends for women were reversed. Women began to marry earlier, have more children, and stay at home. In 1950 nearly 60 percent of Americans lived in the vaunted traditional family with a stay-at-home wife, and in the largest migration in American history 1.2 million moved to suburban areas, where women became more isolated.

Unwholesome subjects like abortion virtually disappeared from women's magazines, which now touted the fulfillment to be found in domestic life. Ironically, despite the silence, the practice of abortion continued and even grew more legitimate.

Abortion had been illegal in every state since the end of the nineteenth century All but four allowed therapeutic abortion to save the mother's life and many permitted it to save her health (Flanders, 1991, p. 6). While medical science was solving most of the renal and cardiovascular problems that had once necessitated abortions, some were performed because the woman suffered from severe vomiting or because she had been exposed to rubella measles, a known cause of birth defects. Doctors now interpreted the law even more broadly. Many hospitals convened boards to review abortion requests in which the woman was distraught because of an unplanned pregnancy. Middle-class patients who could afford the required psychiatric consultations—and were willing to say they would have a breakdown if the child were born—could now obtain abortions for mental health reasons.

Estimates of legal and illegal abortion rates ranged from 200,000 to more than one million annually. Dr. Christopher Tietze, chairman of the statistical committee for a 1955 Planned Parenthood conference on abortion, contended that 1.2 million abortions—or about one pregnancy in four— was the accurate figure (Calderone, 1958). Such figures were supported by Dr. Albert Kinsey's findings (Kinsey et al., 1953). They would indicate that abortion was as common two decades before abortion was legal as it is in the post-*Roe* era.

Late 1950s and early 1960s: Doctor experts

The subject of abortion crept tentatively back onto the public agenda in the late 1950s. Narratives again contained lurid details of botched, illegal abortions that ended in tragedies of death or sterilization. Now, however, mainstream news magazines carried the stories, and they were often told by doctors, instead of women. Physicians lamented that they were forced to turn away desperate women, only to treat them later for the aftermath of abortions these patients had self induced or obtained in bed bug hotels.

Doctors now became the main advocates of change. Although many showed a deep concern for their patients' well being, these physicians focused on medical problems and solutions. Their concerns for social conditions were largely limited to the inequity of abortion practices that allowed wealthy women to afford safe hospital abortions and forced the poor into the hands of unscrupulous butchers. Few physicians saw the social conditions that led to so many ill-fated pregnancies as falling within their medical scope. Abortion came to be seen as an isolated and private concern, no longer nested in other social problems and policies, as it had been portrayed in the 1940s.

Articles continued to claim that most abortions were performed on married women, but the 72 percent increase in out-of-wedlock births between 1950 and 1960 was clearly pointing to an increase in sexual activity among single people. Still, as Celeste Condit (1990) points out, the single women in these rhetorical narratives were never portrayed as promiscuous because these narratives did not explore ambiguous cases. The women and girls were helpless victims, raped or seduced by older men, deserted or too young to be held responsible.

Then in 1962, Sherri Finkbine stepped forth onto this rhetorically prepared stage to play the heroine—or villain—of the most captivating public narrative on abortion. Finkbine, a *Romper Room* host and paragon of idealized motherhood, took thalidomide during her fifth pregnancy, unaware of the drug's dangers. Confirming that her baby was almost surely deformed, Finkbine's doctor arranged for a local hospital abortion, although Arizona law allowed these only when the mother's life was in danger. Finkbine's abortion would have gone quietly unnoticed, like the 8,000 others performed in U.S. hospitals that year. Instead it became the subject of a grand national debate when Finkbine took her case to the local newspaper to alert other women to the dangerous drug she had ingested. Squirming under the publicity that followed, the hospital canceled the procedure. Others shrank back from the controversy, and Finkbine eventually flew to Sweden for her abortion. Her story brought the abortion debate to a political front burner and focused public attention on the morality of abortion itself—rather than the dangerous illegal methods, the sexual behavior of the woman, or contributing social conditions.

1960s: Speaking out

The medical community and a core of professional elites led the ensuing reform movement by insisting that the law align itself with modern medical practice (Luker, 1984, p. 67-73). Physicians focused on the constraints the law imposed on their medical practice. Making abortion legal would free them to make what medical recommendations seemed appropriate for each woman. They stressed the injustice of the current inequity between rich and poor. While middle-class women could afford the psychiatric consultations required by most hospital boards for physician-performed abortions, poor women had to fend for themselves. As state legislatures began to debate and pass abortion reform statutes, physicians then added inequity among the states to their cries of injustice.

In 1963, Betty Friedan ignited the new feminism with her publication of *The Feminine Mystique*. The resulting feminist movement disparaged traditional definitions of gender and advocated that women take control of their own lives. These new feminists believed that women needed readily available contraception and saw abortion as the logical fail-safe backup.

Late 1960s: Taking sides

Around 1967, the last of the "spirit of compromise and civility" (Luker, 1984, p. 92), which had thus far characterized the abortion debate gave way to the ideological fervor and "rights talk" (Glendon, 1991) typically associated with the '60s. The abstract ideological arguments of Life and Choice replaced complex human narratives as the main form of public discourse on abortion.

In one of its last gasps, civility yielded the most interesting and prescient discussion found in the popular literature. *McCall's* magazine asked Eunice Kennedy Shriver, sister of the late president, and Dr. Alan F. Guttmacher, physician and noted advocate of abortion reform, to comment on two sides of the question "When Pregnancy Means Heartbreak, Is Abortion the Answer?" (Shriver & Guttmacher, 1968). While Shriver answered no and Guttmacher yes, both agreed that abortion inevitably would be legalized. They also agreed that abortion on demand was undesirable and that society has the right and duty to modify and affect individual abortion choices. Their arguments, both thoughtful and persuasive, were vastly different and ironically complementary. Shriver applied what later came to be known as feminist ethics of care (Gilligan, 1982; Held, 1993). Guttmacher's commentary followed a masculine style, one based on principles of equity and pragmatics, especially for medical practice.

Reminiscent of the 1940s arguments in women's magazines, Shriver contended that rising abortion rates were "only a symptom" of "profound social disorders." She forewarned against "this permissive libertarian, individualistic temper of our times" (p. 60). Guttmacher argued the morality of justice and equal treatment under democratic law. His views were those of a kindly physician, frustrated by his inability to help desperate patients. Widespread opposition to existing statutes made rigid enforcement impossible, Guttmacher said, pointing out the disproportionate hardship on the poor.[4]

Guttmacher saw abortion reform as a great healer of social ills and made a series of rash predictions: "Abortion on demand would greatly speed the goal of making each child a wanted child, which would reduce the vast army of neglected and rejected children and cut by half the 300,000 illegitimate children born in this country each year" (p. 132). Even the divorce rate would diminish as legal abortion brought an end to shotgun marriage, Guttmacher said. Nonetheless, he advocated slow legislative reform and predicted that all 50 states would liberalize abortion statutes by 1975 and do away with all legal controls by 1990.

On the other side of the magazine fold, Eunice Kennedy Shriver speculated that abortion reform alone would worsen the very social ills its advocates hoped to address. Shriver suggested that Americans address the conditions that could reduce the need for abortion by encouraging more involvement and accountability of fathers, promoting parenting education, providing birth insurance to help parents with the financial burden of a child with congenital abnormalities, passing a family allowance plan, reducing the rate of unplanned pregnancy through better birth control, and encouraging sexual responsibility.

Without some legal recognition of the value of fetal life, Shriver warned, America would "drift into what I would call the 'Hard Society'"—one in which individualism would override the sense of responsibility for others in personal relationships and for the common good in society. She predicted a "separateness between rich and poor, between whites and blacks, between an intellectual elite and the unlearned masses, where both individuals and blocs are concerned solely with maximizing their own comforts and enforcing their own prejudices" (p. 140).

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[4] Guttmacher cited a National Opinion Research Center poll that showed 71 percent of Americans favored legal abortion if the woman's health is endangered, 56 percent in rape cases, and 55 percent for serious birth defects. Similarly, a 1967 *Modern Medicine* poll found 87 percent of doctors favored liberalizing abortion laws (p. 130). Neither the public nor the police wanted to roust out the "good" or "safe" abortionist whom they viewed with the same winking tolerance as the bootlegger during prohibition.

Abortion rights activists challenged public opinion, addressed their rhetoric to the people, not the professionals, and declared the personal political, using the language of rights to move from private discussion to public dialogue in a newly vociferous tone (Luker, 1984).

Just as the quiescence of the 1950s was tied to larger social trends like post-war prosperity and the suburban nesting of traditional families, conditions of the 1960s gave rise to a grass-roots reform movement that was grounded in the feminist consciousness raising, civil rights and anti-war movements. This new contemporary feminist movement challenged the medical experts' control of the abortion issue and framed it instead in terms of women's rights. This group saw access to abortion as an essential component of equal rights for women. Without abortion reform, they argued, women could not take total control of their reproductive capacity.

The 1970s and 1980s: Bitter polarity

In 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the case of *Roe v. Wade* established privacy—a Constitutional equivalent of Choice—as the underlying justification for the elimination of all abortion regulation in the first six months of pregnancy. *Roe's* sweeping change gave a complete victory to the pro-choice side. Back alley abortions that had claimed the lives and health of so many American women were ended; so was legislative reform.

In *The Politics of Virtue*, Mensch and Freeman (1993) propose that ". . . the [*Roe*] decision may be fairly characterized as a mistake for three combined reasons: it was legally problematic at best, sociologically inaccurate, and politically disastrous" (p. 126). Luker (1975) notes that "what neither the Court nor anyone else anticipated was that the *Roe* decision would mobilize a new and much stronger opposition to abortion reform" (p. 144). Following the *Roe v. Wade* decision, the public debate over abortion became entrenched in the incommensurable pro-life and pro-choice positions. This rhetorical framing effectively closed off discussion of compromise and common ground, which had played an important role in the abortion debate in this country before *Roe v. Wade* and which remained the mainstay of abortion discussion in other developed Western countries (Glendon, 1987).

Neither side now talked about social conditions that led so many American women to seek abortions. In April 1973, just three months after the *Roe* decision, *Ms.* magazine ran the stark and bloody photo of an unidentified woman, dead on a motel room floor after a botched abortion (Gratz, 1973). (More than 20 years later, in a television documentary (Gillooly, 1995) the woman's sister would complain of feeling exploited when she came across the magazine photo, taken from police records and used without the family's permission.) The victim's story was unknown. The picture was used as that of a generic victim and served to illustrate that the abortion debate had been nothing but a power struggle for the control of women (p. 45).[5]

The article continued the tradition of abortion narratives, but they were now buried near the end of the story and were diminished to a series of one-paragraph tales. They made the narrative claim that a woman was entitled to choose abortion because, for example, the normal growth of her mildly retarded toddler would be jeopardized by the entry of a second child into the family. The social conditions that allowed a woman to feel trapped into such a choice now remained unexamined. These stories no longer served to illustrate how social policies adversely affected the common good. Now the personal tale wagged the argument, and the stories became evidence of how individual need should take precedence.

The pro-life side answered by saying that such situations failed to justify taking the life of the unborn. Their arguments were also narrowly drawn, lacking the sweeping social criticism Shriver (1967) had offered. Abortion discussion had now been reduced to two simplified choices, Life vs. Choice, and American discourse was caught in a vise between them. "The heat of the conflict has, for all useful purposes, reduced a great many probing and subtle thoughts on the subject of abortion to just two antithetical positions," Maloy and Patterson (1992a, p. 1) write.

Abortion became the paradigmatic issue to illustrate the "Hard Society" of acute divisions and rampant individualism that Shriver had warned against. Others told the story under different names. Lasch, for example, has written about *The Culture of Narcissism* (1979), *The Minimal Self* (1984), and *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy* (1995). Hunter (1991) has reported on America's *Culture Wars*, and Glendon (1991) on *Rights Talk*.

Glendon (1987) sees laws and public policies as the ongoing story that a nation tells about its citizens, their values, and progress. "One thing seems clear," she says. "No one set out deliberately to tell the kind of story that is currently being told in American abortion and divorce law. . . but it is recognizably related to other stories that we like very much, stories we tell ourselves, each other, and our children over and over again—about self-reliance, individual liberty, and tolerance for diversity" (p. 114).

1990s: Seeking Common Ground

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[5] Pro-life advocates had launched a battle of the persuasive images with their pictures of baby-like or bloody fetuses [Condit, 1990 #82].

Abortion took its shape as a public issue during the late 1960s, while individualism was having a growth spurt within American culture. Once abortion became framed as a dialectic between pro-choice and pro-life, all public discussion was squeezed into this mold for the next three decades. In recent years, however, new common ground rhetoric has begun to acknowledge that other rhetorical frameworks may better fit the issue.

Kettering Foundation president David Mathews (1994) has written in *Politics for People* that "in a rush to solutions, it is easy to overlook the way an issue is framed. But the way a problem is framed almost predetermines the kind of solution we will find and whether there will be any shared sense of purpose"(Charity, 1995, p. 66-67). In any civic discussion, Matthews points out, what choices people grapple with are determined by how an issue is framed and even what it is named. The Kettering Foundation has suggested "that the most useful framing for an issue is the one that takes the views of every segment of the community into account," with choices that encompass all favored solutions (Charity, 1995, p. 67).

In American society today, no clear ethical narrative—or set of transcendent public virtues—unites public discussion. Rather, many diverse narratives emerging from individual concerns are competing for public voice, and reinforcing the individualism that generated them. Individualism provides little incentive for re-framing issues with respect to the common good, but new and more encompassing rhetoric emerging on abortion indicates that the feminine ethic of care and responsibility may give new shape to this issue that has divided Americans most deeply. Examples come from the courts, television, the popular press, and activists themselves.

- With rare exception (Maloy & Patterson, 1992b), the popular press ignored the Supreme Court's breakthrough in the majority opinion in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*. Reporters called upon the same commonly used pro-choice and pro-life spokespeople, although the fact that both sides disparaged the decision should have alerted them that the abortion story was taking a new turn. Sullivan and Goldzwig (1995) in a study of Sandra Day O'Connor's language demonstrate that the decision "carved out a 'middle ground,' one based on a relational approach to moral decision-making that honored interrelationships among the parties and positions involved, recognized the importance of context, and revealed the humility of the Justices" (p. 175).
- The November 1995 public television broadcast of *Leona's Sister Gerri*, a pro-choice documentary by Jane Gillooly (1995), was followed by a program called *A New Dialogue: Americans on Abortion* (Stoia & Weiss, 1995), which presented reactions from people across the country who had taken part in pre-screenings and

discussion groups about the documentary. The program showed real people expressing their complex thoughts about abortion and listening with respect to one another's differing points of view. Someone suggested that one point on which pro-life and pro-choice advocates can agree is that no one is in favor of unwanted pregnancy—the implication being that the opposing factions might find common ground in their attitudes toward particular causes of the high abortion rate.

- An *Atlantic Monthly* article by George McKenna (1995), entitled "How Lincoln Might Have Dealt with Abortion: A Pro-Choice Anti-Abortion Approach," and Naomi Wolf's (1995) *New Republic* article, called "Re-thinking Pro-Choice Rhetoric: Our Bodies, Our Souls," show the two sides in the abortion debate reaching toward the center. McKenna draws a philosophical and rhetorical parallel between the contemporary abortion debate and the argument over slavery in the years leading up to the Civil War, suggesting Lincoln's anti-slavery rhetoric might be a good model for pro-life politicians to adopt because it would combine strenuous efforts to limit the use of abortion, with recognition of the woman's right to choose. Wolf exhorts her fellow pro-choice advocates to "contextualize the fight to defend abortion rights within a moral framework that admits that the death of a fetus is a real death; that there are degrees of culpability, judgment and responsibility involved in the decision to abort a pregnancy" (p. 26). Wolf sees the search for common ground on abortion as paradigmatic of the nation's quest for a new narrative, observing that "American society is struggling to find its way forward to a discourse of right and wrong that binds together a common ethic for the secular and the religious" (p. 34).
- Among a handful of groups that have sprung up in the last few years is the Common Ground Network for Life and Choice, which identifies itself in a Project Overview (1994) as "the first full-scale project of Search for Common Ground aimed at a domestic conflict." Although the group is a response to increasing bitterness and polarization in the abortion debate, their larger significance is in the model they offer for cooperative communication about social and political conflicts involving diverse values and world views, as well as their attention to the underlying social problems, such as "teen pregnancy and lack of social support for women, children and families. . . that urgently need the combined effort of both pro-choice and pro-life advocates" (p. 1).

The list is not complete. These works build on others done earlier by (Callahan, 1990; Ginsburg, 1989; Glendon, 1987; Hunter, 1992; Maloy & Patterson, 1992; Mensch & Freeman, 1993; Rosenblatt, 1992b) Each of these cases demonstrates an acknowledgment of the complexities, particulars, and relational concerns embedded in abstract issues—considerations which are key to reconciling seemingly incommensurable points of view. Each case embodies elements of care, responsibility, rights, and justice with mercy. And in each case, struggling with the dialectical quandaries related to abortion generates questions and possibilities from which a new ethical narrative may begin to emerge. With the identification of narrative guideposts comes the possibility of higher levels of moral maturity for both individuals and society.

What propels these attempts at common ground on the abortion issue then is the same willingness to reach beyond the narrow focus of individual interest that propels the civic journalism movement. "Once an issue from the public agenda is framed as a set of choices," Arthur Charity (1995) says, "the main task of the public journalist is to help people decide which choice (or set of trade-offs among choices) they want" (p. 71). In civic journalism, Charity suggests, the definition of news shifts from a focus on the news of conflict to the news of solutions. For example, in the coverage of a community dispute, quotes might be chosen, not because they represent the most extreme ends of a conflict, but because they point toward common ground.[6]

Beyond Life and Choice

While Americans say on poll after poll that they believe abortion should be safe and legal, they also indicate deep moral and emotional misgivings. "[P]opular attitudes contain more common sense than the rigid ideologies that dominate public debate. They are often ambivalent but not necessarily contradictory or incoherent," notes Lasch (1995, p. 111), referencing E. J. Dionne, Jr.'s (1991) analysis of *Why Americans Hate Politics*. The ability to struggle with this kind of dialectical tension—to strive for the unity of contraries (Buber, 1966)—signals both a level of maturity which is lacking in abstract, all-or-nothing claims, and an openness to dialogue that acknowledges ambiguity and complexity (Arnett, 1986).

Luker (1984) contends that the pro-choice and pro-life extremes have never been, and will never be, representative of how most Americans feel on the abortion issue (p. 224). Luker describes a war between two opposing views of motherhood, held by

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[6] Charity (1995) gives as an example a dispute over the closing of Freedom Park in Charlotte, North Carolina, after white residents who lived near the park objected to the black youths who cruised through it in their cars. The *Charlotte Observer* printed about a dozen verbatim statements from interested parties, including the residents, the cruisers and community leaders. In a deliberate attempt to practice civic journalism, former editor Richard Oppel wrote, the paper sought quotes that drew out good ideas, that helped to define problems and to determine what should be done. The paper looked for strategic facts and ideas. Accusations, which were not strategic facts, were left out; ideas for concrete action were used instead (Charity, pp. 72 and 113).

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feminists and by traditionalists, representing two different world views Thus, "the abortion debate is actually about the meanings of women's lives" (p. 193).

Scholars have referenced several larger cultural issues in connection with the abortion debate and with the question of why the public rhetoric in this country divided itself so exclusively into the pro-choice and pro-life camps, while in other countries comparable discussion always remained more mixed and complicated. Lasch (1995), in *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy*, observes that in the United States, abortion is part of a larger concern about permissive moral relativism, the devaluation of authority, and pervasive sex and violence. He sees privatization of moral issues, such as abortion, as one more indication of the collapse of community (p. 108). Hunter (1991) includes the abortion debate among the *Culture Wars* he sees ravaging our society, arguing it is naïve to think a consensus of values and beliefs is possible because the focus among sub-cultures in America's increasingly diverse society is on differences, rather than commonalities.

Glendon (1987) notes that America is unusual in framing abortion as an individual right. While European laws emphasize the common good, American abortion law is rooted in what Glendon sees as "this country's undue emphasis on individual autonomy to the exclusion of community responsibility" (Patterson, Hill & Maloy, 1995, p. 691). Glendon (1987) and Elshtain (1995) also cite problems inherent in removing cultural and moral issues from the light of popular scrutiny and citizen debate, where compromise is possible, and handling them in the adversarial environment of the courts. "All the cultural questions that now pit democratic citizens against one another—in addition to abortion, I think of family values, drugs, and post-civil rights race relations—are guaranteed to continue to divide us," Elshtain predicts, "in large part because of the means government has often used to put these issues on the table: judicial fiat" (p. 26).

Analysis of Ethical Growth

Over the past fifty years, abortion rhetoric in the United States has changed in ways that loosely parallel the gender-based ethical orientations and stages of epistemological development defined by Gilligan (1982) and Belenky et al. (1986). Building on the work of Kohlberg (1958, 1981), Perry (1970), and Gilligan (1982) and broadening it to a wider socio-economic sample, Belenky et al. devised a richly complex hierarchy, which the authors will use to characterize the development of public discourse on abortion. Proceeding from the assumption that abortion is the first issue in modern day America in which the feminine ethic of care has emerged from private into public discourse, the authors of this paper suggest that it is appropriate to try to trace the evolution of this emergence by finding some correlation between the stages of women's cognitive and communicative development and their pattern of public abortion rhetoric.

Silent Women, those on the bottom rung of the *Women's Ways of Knowing* (1986) ladder, tend to see life in terms of polarities. "*Silent* women have little awareness of their intellectual capabilities. They live—selfless and voiceless—at the behest of those around them. External authorities know the truth and are all-powerful" (Belenky et al., 1986, p. 134).

Silence characterized abortion rhetoric up to the 1940s. Although Kinsey's (1953) studies show one-fifth to one-fourth of pregnancies ended in abortion in the 1930s and 40s, the very word was forbidden in polite company. After a flurry of articles in women's magazines during and after the war, the return to silence in the 1950s squelched the short-lived attempt to put abortion on the public agenda and to apply the ethic of care to its analysis.

Received Knowledge/Listening to Others describes women who listen to others as authorities for direction as well as for information. The women do not see these authorities as being like themselves, but as separate beings who hold power over them. These authorities define these issues as right and wrong, without gray areas.

Physicians, clergymen, lawmakers, and law enforcers maintained authority over abortion with scarcely any articulation of the moral ethic underlying it. Women listened to experts without questioning their authority or reasoning. Some of the 1940s articles fall into this level of moral reasoning. As the abortion reform movement took hold in the late 1950s, it was led by doctors and professional elites, from whom women received knowledge about abortion, both as a medical procedure and as a social phenomenon.

Subjective Knowledge/Inner Voice thinkers are women who see truth as subjective and personal. External authority is doubted; truth is intuitive. "Occasionally women distinguish between truth as *feelings* that come from within and *ideas* that come from without" (Belenky et al., 1986, p. 68).

Adopting the language of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s, these feminists began to claim abortion as a woman's right, using their own feelings and experiences as justification. Reformers of the 1960s accepted the existing political system and used existing tools of protest and argument to seek legislative changes to combat discrimination toward women. Thus, while their sense of the need for reform came from within (their own feelings and experiences), their notions about how to obtain it came from without.

Subjective Knowledge/Quest for Self is a phase in which women walk away from the past with a new sense of power in their intuitive processes. They begin to assert authority and autonomy and forge new rules and boundaries for relationships, often disregarding the claims of others. Some become anti-male.

The consciousness raising of 1960s feminism encouraged women, especially the young, to give greater legitimacy to their private experiences. But as these experiences were brought from women's gatherings and traditional women's magazines into the public arena, the language grew harsh. Abortion narratives lost their complexity. The late 1960s movement for repeal of abortion laws further conflated abortion rhetoric with women's rights. Repeal advocates countered the claim of a "right to life" with argument for a "right to choose," and women on both sides began to view the interests of women and those of fetuses as mutually exclusive.

"It is important to keep in mind the broader cultural context in assessing the meaning of such changes in women's priorities. During the 70s there was a widespread cultural sanction of self-indulgence, self-actualization, and opportunism" (Belenky et al., 1986, p. 78). Ethical arguments for equality and the trend toward amoral self-interest are both rooted here.

Procedural Knowledge/Voice of Reason is more complex than the received or subjectivist knower stages. Progress from the previous stage begins with skepticism about the infallibility of reasoning from the gut. These women realize that personal experience and intuitions can deceive. Knowledge is seen as a process honed and developed by authorities; knowing requires careful observation and analysis. The possibility of knowing things outside one's own experience allows a new respect for expertise that can become exaggerated. Form can come to dominate over content, and women in this stage run the danger of engaging in *methodolatry*. 'Ways of looking' can become central, and a concern for *how* people go about forming their opinions, feelings, and ideas can take precedence over *what* people think.

Abortion rhetoric about women's rights reflected early liberal feminists' adoption of the masculine language of power in service of their own needs. In order to maximize arguments for equality, these feminists strove to minimize gender distinctions.

Procedural Knowledge/Separate and Connected Knowing takes two forms. Critical thinking and doubting the word of others are at the heart of separate knowing. At the heart of connected knowing is empathy. The first relies on logic to seek generality, the second on historical and personal events to seek uniqueness, complexity, and connections (Belenky et al., 1986, p. 113).

Increasing polarization of public abortion rhetoric following *Roe v. Wade* can be discussed with respect to this distinction. To some extent, pro-choice language favors separation and pro-life connectedness, but the comparison should not be overextended. In some ways, both sides in the public debate favor the language of separation in their enthusiasm for argumentation and winning, over dialogue and tolerance. Private decision making includes connectedness for thinkers who apply the morality of care (Maloy & Patterson, 1992a) and separation for the amoral women Naomi Wolf (1995) describes.

Constructed Knowledge/Integrating Voices is the reasoning used by women at the highest stage of development. Belenky et al. found that for the women they studied, the climb to this stage "began as an effort to reclaim the self by attempting to *integrate* knowledge that they felt intuitively was personally important with knowledge they had learned from others. . . weaving together the strands of rational and emotive thought and . . . integrating objective and subjective knowing" (p. 134).

In recent years, the re-emergence of common ground rhetoric on abortion may indicate that a societal equivalent of this phenomenon is beginning to take place.

The above attempt to compare individual women's private epistemological orientations and priorities with those expressed collectively in public rhetoric is risky. At the same time, it demonstrates the disadvantage women encounter in bringing their modes of private discourse into public dialogue. Cheris Kramarae (1981) argues that women's communication is "muted" within the dominant culture. And anthropologist Shirley Ardener (1975) notes, "appropriate language" in public discourse is often "encoded" by males, putting women at a disadvantage in expressing their own ideas (p. 167). Some perceptions are not easily expressed in the idiom of the dominant language structure because discourse has been defined in masculine terms (p. ix).

Like Belenky and her colleagues, others have examined gendered epistemological and ethical orientations, such as the morality of care, in ways that attempt to validate and integrate women's interests into the public discourse (see as examples Elshtain, 1981; Lyons, 1983; Meyeroff, 1971; Noddings, 1984; Ruddick, 1980; Tronto, 1989; Wood, 1986). Scholars have come at the material from a variety of legitimate directions, demonstrating that the interrelated complexities of these issues are difficult to articulate. Tronto (1989) speculates that

> perhaps the impoverishment of our vocabulary for discussing caring is a result of the way caring is privatized, thus beneath our social vision in this society. The need to rethink appropriate forms for caring also raises the broadest questions about the shape of social and political institutions in our society. (p. 185)

Matrix of Self in Domain

The masculine/feminine, rights/care and public/private distinctions—characteristics of the abortion debate—are the central themes in the larger narrative this paper attempts to construct. They are also central to the role civic journalism proposes to play in reconciling the community to solutions rather than reveling in its disputes. These distinctions can best be illustrated and understood through a graphic representation of public and private Self in Domain, with an overlay of the gender-based moral orientations. This matrix provides a tool for thinking about a complicated set of interrelated variables, but it is not intended to be a rigid or literal formula for the conduct of human affairs, which are fluctuating and often overlapping.

[1] PRIVATE SELF IN PRIVATE DOMAIN *CARE*	[2] PRIVATE SELF IN PUBLIC DOMAIN *RIGHTS*
PUBLIC SELF IN PRIVATE DOMAIN *RESPONSIBILITY* [3]	PUBLIC SELF IN PUBLIC DOMAIN *JUSTICE* [4]

Each quadrant represents a different set of roles, contexts and activities that influence the ways people behave and communicate. The first quadrant represents the **Private Self in Private Domain** in which individuals alone, as families and personal friends, commonly use care to settle disputes. In the second, **Private Self in Public Domain**, individuals are in society and in the professional arena. Here rights are usually the appropriate criteria for solving ethical dilemmas. In the third quadrant, **Public Self in the Private Domain**, individuals operate as a member of a community and often apply individual responsibility to disputed areas. In the fourth area, **Public Self in Public Domain,** citizens are in the world of politics, where civic justice prevails.

The private domain (quadrants 1 and 3) has traditionally been seen as the province of women, while the public domain (quadrants 2 and 4) has been dominated by men. For the private self (quadrants 1 and 2), individual concerns are paramount, while for the public self (quadrants 3 and 4), the primary concern is for the common good. Thus for the purposes of this argument, the feminine ethical orientation appears in the quadrants representing the private domain, with Care corresponding to the individual concerns of the private self, and Responsibility corresponding to the public self's concern for the common good. The masculine version of morality appears in the quadrants of the public domain, with the private self's individual concerns expressed as Rights, and the public self's concern for the common good expressed as Justice.[7]

In the United States today, the debate over abortion takes place almost exclusively in quadrant 2, with pro-life and pro-choice factions publicly arguing over the competing rights of women and fetuses. Much of the private discussion is in quadrant 1, whether in the moral language of relationship and care or the amoral language of self-interest. Both are immature, according to the scales developed by Gilligan, Belenky et al., Kohlberg, and Perry, because they are limited to the individual concerns of the private self.

In order for moral reasoning to grow and become more mature, both men and women need to question the rhetorical structures that have become familiar to them and then relocate themselves by a leap of faith. Both the questioning and the leap of faith must be fueled by a guiding narrative which includes all four quadrants, without blurring their boundaries, and pushes the individual toward maturity. But no clear, overarching narrative prevails in late 20th century America, where the ethical climate —variously described as rampant individualism (Elshtain, 1995; Glendon, 1987; Sennett, 1977), cultural narcissism (Lasch, 1979), emotivism[8] (MacIntyre, 1981), and the therapeutic culture[9] (Rieff, 1966)—

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[7] Gilligan is best known for the distinctions she identified between masculine and feminine voices, but she does not claim that responsibility and care issues are limited to women, nor that rights and justice issues are exclusive to men. In fact, Gilligan and Attanucci (1988) found that "there is an association between moral orientation and gender such that both men and women use both orientations, but Care Focus dilemmas are more likely to be presented by women and Justice Focus dilemmas by men" (p. 223). "That the focus phenomenon was demonstrated by two thirds of both men and women in the present study suggests that this liability is shared by both sexes" (p. 233).

[8] Emotivism is a form of privatized truth in which behavior is based on feelings, decisions on personal preference and judgments on private standards. Fruitful public dialogue is impossible when emotivism prevails because argument based on private conviction—not evidence or public narrative—recognizes only one's personal opinion as legitimate.

[9] 'Therapeutic culture' refers here to the over extension of therapeutic methods—such as focus on Self, empathy, congruence, unconditional positive regard and unrestrained expression of feelings—outside the private psychoanalytic setting and into the public vocabulary. Widespread acceptance of such habits has exacerbated individualism and emotivism. Arnett (1995) has called the misuse of therapeutic communication a "moral *cul de sac.*"

encourages a focus on Self which blurs the boundaries between public and private, and confounds the moral maturation process.

The habit of Self-focus, which on all scales characterizes the lower levels of ethical development, makes it unlikely that individuals will ask questions about social welfare that produce ethical maturity and the ability to formulate rhetoric appropriate for the two higher order quadrants of the public self. In American culture today, individualism and therapeutic communication are so deeply ingrained that active citizenship and public concern for others have become quaint, if not risible relics of a bygone age. Instead we have what Elshtain (1995) dubs the "politics of displacement" (pp. 37-63), which she depicts as involving two trajectories: "In the first, everything private. . . becomes grist for the public mill. In the second, everything public. . . is privatized and played out in a psychodrama on a grand scale" (p. 38). By extension, on one hand, members of sub-cultures demand explicit public sanction for their private choices, and on the other, private identities become inextricable from political convictions. Both of these dynamics can be seen in the public abortion debate, especially at the extreme fringes.

The abortion debate has been conducted by women and men alike in the public domain, using the vocabulary of rights, at a time when the politics of displacement have made it difficult to distinguish public issues from private. At the same time, the private discourse on abortion decisions has fallen into two categories. Maloy and Patterson (1992) documented cases in which women and couples focused almost exclusively on issues of relationship and care. The issues at stake in the public rhetoric had little significance in their private conversations. Wolf (1995) argues that the depersonalization of the fetus accomplished by public pro-choice rhetoric has created an environment conducive to private decisions lacking moral deliberation or responsibility.

All of these perspectives are immature in that they fail to consider *both* rights and care, and they value the concerns of the individual over concerns for the common good. Gilligan and Attanucci (1988) articulate an important dialectic: "Analysis of care and justice as distinct moral orientations that address different moral concerns leads to a consideration of both perspectives as constitutive of mature moral thinking" (p. 232-233).

A guiding ethical narrative is the integrative component that allows individuals and society to embrace private concerns for both care and rights, and public concerns for both responsibility and justice—to consider the four quadrants of the matrix both separately and as connected parts of the whole—with regard for both the abstract and the particulars.

Common Ground and Civic Journalism

As we have shown earlier, journalism has frequently provided the bridge between public and private discourse. Historically, it has, at times, allowed a public articulation of the ethic of care on the abortion issue and at other times has filtered out all but the harshest claims to individual rights. Of course, this disparity represents more than just the choices of journalists. Traditional journalism, grounded in Enlightenment thinking, has often limited itself to the job of informing the public and presenting prevailing attitudes.

The emergence of a new definition of journalism's mission in civic journalism, however, redefines that role in society. That redefinition, in turn, offers hope that journalists will play a key role in helping define the guiding narrative and then applying it to the abortion issue to find common ground.[10]

In his 1995 paper "The Common Good in a Global Setting," Clifford G. Christians asserts that civic journalism is based on an assumption that common good is prior to individuals, and it aims to create a public that is politically and morally literate (p. 2). In turning away from individual rights to the common good, Christians argues, civic journalism will become an agent of community formation. Contrary to egoistic rationalism, which says individuals make up their minds on the basis of objective data, civic journalism assumes the job of using information in a way that helps to form community.

Even though the civic journalism movement is in its infant stages, it cannot avoid for long an obligation to define the common good it claims to serve. This definition must help guide and motivate the desire for common good. Otherwise, civic journalism runs the risk of being dismissed as a pipe dream. According to Christians, the common good has to be stated in universalist terms in order to prevent communitarianism from devolving into a parochialism that unleashes "a wave of tribalism" (p. 3) that can take the form of ethnic cleansing, racism, or the kind of cultural identity wars that characterize the abortion debate.

The common good, therefore, must be recognized not as merely a communal good but "common in the richest universal sense of the word," Christians argues (p. 4). He suggests that *common human solidarity* become the universalist principle that guides civic journalism. Under this banner, the criteria for public argument becomes not to eliminate differences within the community but to weigh

> whether a community's values affirm the human good or not. As our ideologies, philosophies of life, and beliefs are lobbied within the public sphere, some agreements will emerge that form a common good. Since we hold our world views not as isolated individuals but socially, we thereby have

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[10] The process could happen in reverse. By finding common ground on abortion, Americans may discover agreement on a guiding narrative.

> a responsibility to make public the course we favor and *to demonstrate in what manner it advances our common citizenship* (p. 12, emphasis added).

Common citizenship, we might argue, would see Life and Choice as the penultimate, not the ultimate arguments to be raised on the abortion issue. Mistaking the penultimate values for ultimate ones leads to immoral behavior, Christians argues, citing Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1955). "Universal values are a way of keeping our common human solidarity as ultimate," Christians says. With common human solidarity as the ultimate and guiding end, both the goals of preserving fetal life and allowing free choice for women become clearly penultimate because neither one alone can reach its goal without destroying life and violating other obligations in the process. The goal then cannot be the fetus *or* the woman; it must be *both*. The common ground rhetoric emerging in the 1990s recognizes and endorses this possibility, despite the prevailing cynicism working against it.

Moving the values of journalism and the tone of public discussion toward a more communitarian and universalist end is compatible with more mature levels of intellectual and ethical maturity. It embraces both the masculine concerns for justice and the feminine ones for responsibility by moving up from the emphasis on the individual matters of care and rights and toward larger, more universal commitments, involving responsibility and justice.

In today's historical moment, when egoism, rampant individualism and like-minded interest groups threaten to implode and take the American social contract with them, communitarianism and civic journalism rightfully arise to counter today's excesses. This is not to say that individual rights no longer form the cornerstone of American values. They are, and will remain, a fundamental protection against encroachments by the state. But our times are marked by a tendency to cry for individual rights as a way to dodge too many vital and inevitable struggles over competing social goods.

Civic journalism is a reaction against journalistic habits that are sometimes mistaken principles, according to Ed Fouhy (Anonymous, 1995, p. 6), executive director of the Pew Center for Civic Journalism. One of these habits, Fouhy said, is for journalists to focus on conflict as a way of dramatizing the news. Another is to assume that stories have only two sides. Jennie Buckner, editor of the *Charlotte Observer*, says: "[P]ublic journalism is about . . . putting a wider lens on what we do. . . so we can begin to see something more than what we've been seeing" (Anonymous, 1995, p. 7).

Such a widening and deepening of thinking, in journalism and in public debate, seems nearly impossible to most social critics, but the rise of a new common ground rhetoric on the abortion issue gives hope. It appears to demonstrate the tempering and maturing influence that the ethic of care and responsibility can have on the polarization brought about by an over reliance on the language of individual rights.

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Personal Comfort and Personal Care Products: A Survey of Women's Dependency on Advertising

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Abstract:

This study extends dependency theory by examining women's dependency on advertising for personal care products. Women who actively select media with high levels of advertising for personal care products were found to be more likely to use advertising as a source of information about those products. Affective arousal, measured by level of comfort with personal product advertising, was found to be a strong mediator of the relationship between media selection and advertising use.

Introduction

Media dependency theory examines both macro and micro factors that explain dependencies of society, individuals, and the media (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976; Ball-Rokeach, 1985). Previous studies of dependency theory have focused primarily on quasi-experimental situations in which dependence on media was measured under circumstances of natural disasters. Studies have investigated media dependence after volcanic eruptions (Hirschburg, Dillman, & Ball-Rokeach, 1986), for earthquake forecasting information (Turner & Paz, 1986), and for information on military invasions (Donlon & Roush, 1986).

Other researchers have explored media dependency under experimental conditions. For example, watching even a small amount of television was found to alter beliefs, related attitudes, behavior, and media use (Ball-Rokeach, Rokeach & Grube, 1984). Other examinations of dependency theory have explored shopping behavior (Grant, Kendall & Ball-Rokeach, 1991) world views based on media use (Becker & Whitney, 1980; Miller & Reese, 1982) and acculturation (Champagnie-Alman, 1993). Although most research has focused on media dependency at the macro sociological level, a few studies have focused on the presence of media dependency in every day life (Merskin & Huberlie, 1996; Champagnie-Alman, Merskin, & McMillan, 1996).

DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) indicate that media dependency exists within the larger framework of established media systems and specific media content. Dependency on media information then develops through a four-step process as illustrated in Figure 1. First, the individual takes either an active or casual role in becoming exposed to the media message. Second, the intensity of relevant dependencies lead to differential states of arousal. Third, different levels of arousal result in different levels of involvement in information processing. Finally, greater involvement in information processing results in increased cognitive, affective, and behavioral effects of media messages.

This study seeks to extend dependency theory by examining women's dependency on advertising about personal care products. This study predicts that women who take an active role in selecting media that contain a high level of advertising for personal care products will be likely to use advertising for information about those products. Both affective arousal and level of involvement are expected to mediate this effect.

Elements of the Dependency Model

The Role of Media Systems

Ball-Rokeach (1985) suggests that relationships between the media and other social forces form a structural-level dependency that shapes individual media dependency. In particular, she notes that survival of commercial media systems is dependent on survival of economic systems. The relationship between personal care products and specific media genre represents a classic example of economically-based structural dependency.

Precise targeting of an advertising message to the potential consumer of that product is a critical decision in the marketing of a product. Target audiences include the "attitudinally affluent" (Rodkin, 1990), older consumers (Davis & French, 1989), disabled consumers (Waldrop, 1990), children (Stutts & Hunnicutt, 1987; Langbourne, 1993; Edmonson 1994; McNeal, 1992), and ethnic groups (Kern-Foxworth, 1991; Dunn 1992).

A variety of methods are used to reach target audiences based on demographic, socio-psychological and product usage variables (Barban, Cristol & Kopec, 1993). These include VALS (values, attitudes, and lifestyles), MediaMark Research, and Simmons Market Research Bureau. The goal of using syndicated research sources is to match up potential target audience members with the medium and vehicle that presents the best environment for the product and that will most likely reach the customer. For example, research shows that women are the primary audience for day-time television (Comstock, 1989). They also read fashion magazines and other publications targeted toward their interest such as *Good Housekeeping*, *Vogue*, and *US*. Thus, advertisers of personal care products which are targeted to these women choose to place their advertising in these media vehicles which are popular with the target audience.

Advertising messages themselves have also evolved as an element of both the social system and the media system. Around 1900, American advertisers began to use the strategy of treating personal issues as social problems. Industrialization produced a new brand of consumer, a well-to-do middle-class whom advertisers saw as an ideal group to warn about the social effects of personal "problems" such as body order. Yet, even the term "body odor" was too offensive, so B.O. was used instead. The term first appeared in a 1919 advertisement for Odo-Ro-No deodorant (Stern & Stern, 1992).

Gossage (1967) highlights the role of personal product advertising in shaping the social system which consequently shapes the media system:

> We see advertising actually creating and naming taboos. The most famous, B.O. and Halitosis, are archaeological specimens from an age which we might fix as either Late Iron Tonic or Early Soap. . . bad breath and body odor have always existed, of course, but as individual matters. To transform them from personal idiosyncrasies into tribal taboos is a magicianly trick indeed.

Women's use of advertising as a source of information for personal care products is a reflection of the influential role that advertising messages have assumed in our modern social system. Treneman (1989) suggests that many personal product advertisements attempt to recapture the system of interpersonal relationships that has been lost in the modern world. He notes that in many television commercials for personal care products the voice-over is a wise woman, a knowledgeable version of our mothers.

The Role of Media Exposure

DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) identify two types of media exposure that may lead to media dependency. First, "active selectors" purposively seek out media that will help them achieve goals. Second, "casual observers" encounter media content incidentally with no preformed expectations. For these casual observers, the media may activate a dependency and motivate continued exposure.

Four media types provide an example of active and casual use in the personal care product category. Both fashion magazines and daytime television attract advertising for personal care products, therefore it is possible that women who use advertising as a source of information for this product category would seek out those media outlets. Conversely both news magazines and early evening television program are less likely to carry advertising for these products and are thus less likely to be sought out by active selectors. Magazines are more conducive to active selection of information from advertising than is television. These four media may form a continuum of involvement for women who use advertising as a source of information about personal care products.

Fashion magazines are most likely to attract active selectors because of their high content of personal product advertising and because the print format enables easy search for content. Daytime television may also attract active selectors because it is a medium known to be high in personal care products advertising. However, the level of activity may drop because the presence of personal care product advertising is less predictable. Early evening television is traditionally high in news content and low in any advertising that may be considered "offensive." However, recent trends have resulted in more personal products advertising during this "family viewing" time. Therefore, some casual observation could occur. Finally, news magazines are seen as the least likely of the these four media to lead to dependency on advertising for information about personal care products. Quite simply, news magazines rarely attract personal product advertising and therefore will have little or no impact on either active selection or casual observation.

The Role of Affective Arousal

DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) indicate that the intensity of an individual's media dependencies may be mediated by either cognitive or affective arousal that results from media exposure. This study focuses on affective arousal that may be engendered by a sense of "disliking" or feeling "uncomfortable" about personal products advertising. Dependency theory leads us to predict that advertising which an individual finds to be distasteful or uncomfortable may reduce the effects of media dependency.

According to Alwitt and Prabhaker (1994), different demographic groups may have different reasons for disliking television advertising. Within groups there are also likely to be variations. Reasons for disliking advertising include suspicions about the potential of the advertising message to influence decisions as well as concerns that advertisements interrupt entertainment (Pollay & Mittal, 1993; Alwitt & Prabhaker, 1994). Some people dislike advertisements for products that are uncomfortable to deal with. For example, the product may be a "sensitive" personal care product such as a hemorrhoid remedy, tampon, or laxative (Barnes & Dotson, 1990).

The Role of Involvement in Information Processing

A key concept in the third step of the DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) media dependency model is involvement. They hypothesize that a person who has proceeded from media exposure through arousal is likely to actively participate in the information-gathering process. Gaziano (1990) suggests that an individual's involvement in processing information received through the media can be predicted by socioeconomic factors such as age and education. Several recent studies have focused on the high level of involvement that young women have in messages about body image (Lazier & Kendrick, 1993; Myers & Biocca, 1992; Scott, 1993). These studies consistently find that young, single, less-educated women are most likely to be highly involved in messages about personal appearance and be driven to achieve an idealized female body image.

Given this drive to perfect personal appearance, younger, less educated, unmarried women are expected to have a higher level of involvement in information processing and to more frequently use advertising as a source of information on personal care products.

Effects

In the final step of the DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) model, "individuals who have become intensely involved in information processing are more likely to be affected by their exposure to media content" (p. 314). DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach categorize potential effects as cognitive, affective, and behavioral. While the end-goal of marketers may be to generate a behavioral change (product purchase behavior), both advertisers and academics have also come to recognize the value of less direct cognitive and affective effects of advertising message. According to Berman (1981) advertising is powerful because it addresses many of life's issues; when other institutions fade in relevance, it provides simple answers:

> The institutions of family, religion, and education have grown noticeably weaker over each of the past three generations. The world itself seems to have grown more complex. In the absence of traditional authority, advertising has become a kind of social guide. It depicts us in all the myriad situations possible to a life of free choice. It provides ideas about style, morality, and behavior (p. 13).

Analysis of the cognitive, affective, and behavioral change in women's lives as a result of exposure to personal products advertising is beyond the scope of this study. However, this analysis of the relationship between dependency on advertising as an information source, media exposure, affective arousal, and socio-economic involvement indicators provides a base for further detailed analysis of the effects of media dependency in the context of advertising messages and personal care topics.

Method

A survey instrument was used to collect data about frequency with which women use advertising as a source of information about personal care products, types of media vehicles women are exposed to, level of comfort with personal products advertising, and demographic factors that may influence level of involvement in processing advertising messages. The survey was administered to students, faculty and staff at a Pacific Northwest university in 1995. A total of 463 surveys were completed.

A random sample of female faculty and staff were sent the survey via campus mail. A total of 117 faculty and 203 staff members responded to the mail survey resulting in a 36 percent response rate. According to Cresswell (1994) this is an acceptable rate due to the relatively sensitive nature of the questionnaire and the fact that there were no follow-up mailings. A convenience sample of female undergraduate students enrolled in an introductory journalism or introductory women's studies course yielded 143 surveys.

Operationalizing the Dependent Variable

The primary focus of this study is on women's use of advertising as a source of information about personal care products. Advertising use is seen as a reflection of the position that such commercial messages have taken in the larger media and social systems. The dependent variable is a scale based on the mean of women's self-reported use of advertising for information about nutrition, feminine health and hygiene products, hair care, and skin care. Cronbach's alpha for this scale is .83. Scores range from 1-7 with higher scores indicating greater frequency of using advertising as a source of information. The mean score for the scale is 4.19 and the standard deviation is .20.

Operationalizing Media Exposure

Women were asked to report whether or not they are exposed to specific media vehicles. This study considers four media types: fashion magazines, daytime television (9:00 am to 4:00 p.m.), early evening television (6:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.), and news magazines. Each of these media are measured as dichotomous variables. As detailed above, these four media are expected to represent a continuum from active selection to casual observation of advertising messages related to personal care products.

Operationalizing Affective Arousal

A scale measures women's responses to the question of how comfortable they feel when they are exposed to advertisements for personal care products. The scale calculates a mean for responses to questions about comfort of exposure to ads for products related to nutrition, feminine health and hygiene, hair care, and skin care. Cronbach's alpha for this scale is .92. Scores range from 1-5 with higher scores indicating a greater level of comfort with exposure to advertisements for personal care products. The mean score for the scale is 2.39 and the standard deviation is .77.

Operationalizing Involvement in Information Processing

Younger, less educated, unmarried women were expected to have a higher level of involvement in information processing for commercial messages about personal care products. The survey requested that women place themselves within an age category. For regression analysis, a dummy variable was created that grouped all women under age 35 separately from those 35 and older. Education is a dichotomous variable indicating whether or not a woman has attained a college degree. Marital status was converted into a dummy variable so married women can be considered separately from those who have never married, are separated/divorced, or are widowed.

Diagnostics

Prior to analyzing the findings, several diagnostic procedures were performed. First, because of the relatively small sample size, a tolerance test was run to determine if there were any multicollinearity problems that could inflate the variance of the regression coefficients. Variance inflation factors were all within acceptable range indicating that multicollinearity is not a problem in this data set.

Secondly, the data was examined for extreme outliers. Two cases were found to lie more than three standard deviation units from the regression surface (see the appendix for detail on the diagnostics for these two cases). Based on analysis of the SDFfit statistic, both cases were found to have an undue influence on the overall fit of the model. Additionally, SDFbeta statistics revealed that one of these cases has undue influence on all of the independent variables while the other has undue influence on the daytime television and fashion magazine variables. The case which exhibited undue influence on all of the independent variables was also found to have high leverage.

Because of the relatively small sample size, these two highly-influential cases were removed from the data set that is analyzed below. The removal of these two cases did not change the significance of any of the findings; however, the constant was lowered slightly and the regression slopes of both the daytime television and fashion magazine variables were flattened somewhat.

Finally, the data were examined for possible heteroscedascticity. In particular, there was concern that comfort with personal product advertising might be a necessary but not sufficient cause for use of those ads for information about personal care issues. In fact, a plot of the comfort variable with the studentized deleted residuals revealed a significant ($p < .001$) pattern of monotonically increasing heteroscedasticity. A weighting variable was created and the following findings report weighted least squares regression.

The WLS findings are not substantively different from OLS results, but standard errors are reduced and the model represents a better fit with the data.

Findings

Hypotheses were tested using weighted least squares regression. Results are presented in Table 1.

Media Exposure Findings

Step 1 in the regression model supports the primary hypothesis that women who take an active role in selecting media that contain a high level of advertising for personal care products will be likely to depend on advertising for information about those products.

Both fashion magazines and daytime television were identified as media through which women can take an active information-seeking role in reference to personal care products. As expected, both show a positive significant relationship with the frequency of advertising use scale. In addition, both early-evening television and news magazines show a negative relationship with the frequency of advertising use scale. However neither of those relationships is significant.

While the findings support the overall prediction of a relationship between active exposure to media and use of advertising message for information about personal care products, the exact ordering of these four media were not as predicted. Viewing daytime television is a stronger predictor of frequency of advertising use than is reading fashion magazines. However, relative beta weights for these two media are similar (.144 and .128 for daytime television and fashion magazines respectively. Relatively small Ns for both of these media types (daytime television N = 32, fashion magazines N = 107) may account for this variation from the hypothesized relationships.

Affective Arousal Findings

Step 2 in the regression model reported in Table 1 provides support for the hypothesized mediating effect of affective arousal on the relationship between media use and frequency of use of advertising for information about personal care products. Adding comfort with advertising to the model increases the amount of variance explained by the model from 4% to 33%.

When respondents level of comfort with personal care product advertisements is held constant, reading fashion magazines ceases to have a significant relationship with use of advertising as a source of information about that product category. Watching daytime television continues to have a positive relationship with frequency of advertising use, but that effect is reduced (beta drops from .144 to .079).

This finding suggests that women's comfort with personal product advertising is a stronger predictor of advertising use than is media exposure. In particular mere exposure to the high volume of personal product advertising in fashion magazines will result in women using those advertisements as an informational source only if women already feel comfortable with the idea that messages of this type in this medium are appropriately placed in the larger social system. It is interesting to note that exposure to daytime television programming continues to have a positive relationship with use of personal product advertising even when comfort level with those advertisements is held constant. This may suggest that if women are incidentally exposed to personal product information in a medium where advertising messages are relatively difficult to escape, casual observation of those messages may activate information-seeking behavior and start the individual moving through the steps of the media dependency model.

Involvement in Information Processing Findings

Step 3 in the regression model reported in Table 1 provides limited support for the hypothesis that involvement in information processing mediates the relationship between media use and use of advertising for information about personal care products. The adjusted R square is improved slightly (from .33 to .35) with addition of these variables; however, only one of the three variables that predicts high involvement is significant.

As expected, women without a college degree are more likely than women who have graduated from college to use advertising as a source of information about personal care products. Inclusion of education results in a slight reduction of the beta value for exposure to fashion magazines. Education also explains some of the relationship between comfort with personal products advertising and use of advertising as a source of information about personal care topics. This suggests, that with all other variables in the model held constant, women who do not have a college education will be somewhat more likely than their more educated counterparts to turn to advertising as a source of information for personal care products.

As illustrated in Table 2, education is significantly correlated with all of the other variables examined in this study. Zero order correlations reveal a negative relationship between education, use of advertising, exposure to both fashion magazines and daytime television, and comfort with using advertising as a source of information. Positive relationships exist between education and exposure to early-evening television and news magazines. More-educated women are also more likely to be 35 years old or older and to be married. These relationships suggest that education may be an important factor in accessing an individual's potential involvement in information processing. However, the other demographic factors do not have explanatory power. Therefore, future studies should consider other measures of involvement.

Discussion

Perhaps the most striking finding of this study is the strong mediating effect played by a woman's level of comfort with personal products advertising. This suggests that in this application of the media dependency model, affective arousal is a strong determinant of dependency. Further studies should examine this relationship in more detail.

Additionally, future studies should examine possible alternative explanations for this finding. For example, both comfort with advertising for personal care products and use of media that include high levels of this type of product advertising may be indicators of an underlying orientation toward physical appearance, body image, or some other factor. If this underlying orientation were isolated and controlled for, we might find a different pattern of effect between media use and dependency on advertising as a source of information for personal care products.

The monotonically increasing error variance of the comfort variable reported in the diagnostic section above adds some support to the notion that comfort with advertising may be a necessary but not sufficient causal factor in dependency on personal product advertising. If some underlying orientation could be isolated the relationship between comfort and use of personal product advertising might be more adequately explained.

Limitations

Limitations are primarily related to the exploratory nature of this study. Future studies should develop additional measures for understanding each step of the media dependency model in the context of advertising and personal care products. In particular, stronger measures are needed for both affective and cognitive arousal. Additionally, careful consideration should be given to the most appropriate ways to measure level of involvement in information processing. Future studies should also consider ways to measure cognitive, affective and behavioral effects resulting from women's dependency on advertising as a source of information about personal care products.

The population from which the sample was drawn may not be representative of the larger population. The original population lacks diversity in terms of such factors as ethnicity, and education. Taking the survey away from the campus environment could help with this concern. Future projects should be conducted in more than one community.

Conclusions

Despite the exploratory nature of this research, this study yields findings with important implications for advertising researchers and practitioners. For researchers, the results point to some key linkages between sociological phenomena and consumer information dependency. The research findings offer some provocative notions of the uses to which women put the media. Findings also offer an extension of media dependency theory to that of consumer dependency, including advertising in the repertoire of media outlets that one can depend upon for answers to questions associated with daily living.

Of significance for practitioners is the finding that women's level of comfort with personal care product advertising is a strong mediator of advertising use. This suggests that care should be taken in developing messages that are both informative and high in factors that increase women's comfort level. The study also provides an initial theoretical framework that may help practitioners identify media vehicles which attract both casual observers and active selectors who will turn to advertising as an information source.

Finally, the recognition that women's dependency on personal product advertising is mediated by their level of comfort with those ads has the potential for changing both the creation and the reception of advertising messages. Attention to women's comfort level may result in changes that will relegate Stern & Stern's (1992) depiction of personal product advertising to the status of historical artifact: "Producing equal measures of anxiety and hope, advertisements told women that if they didn't use deodorant, they wouldn't be loved; and if they did use it, they would be happy" (p. 138).

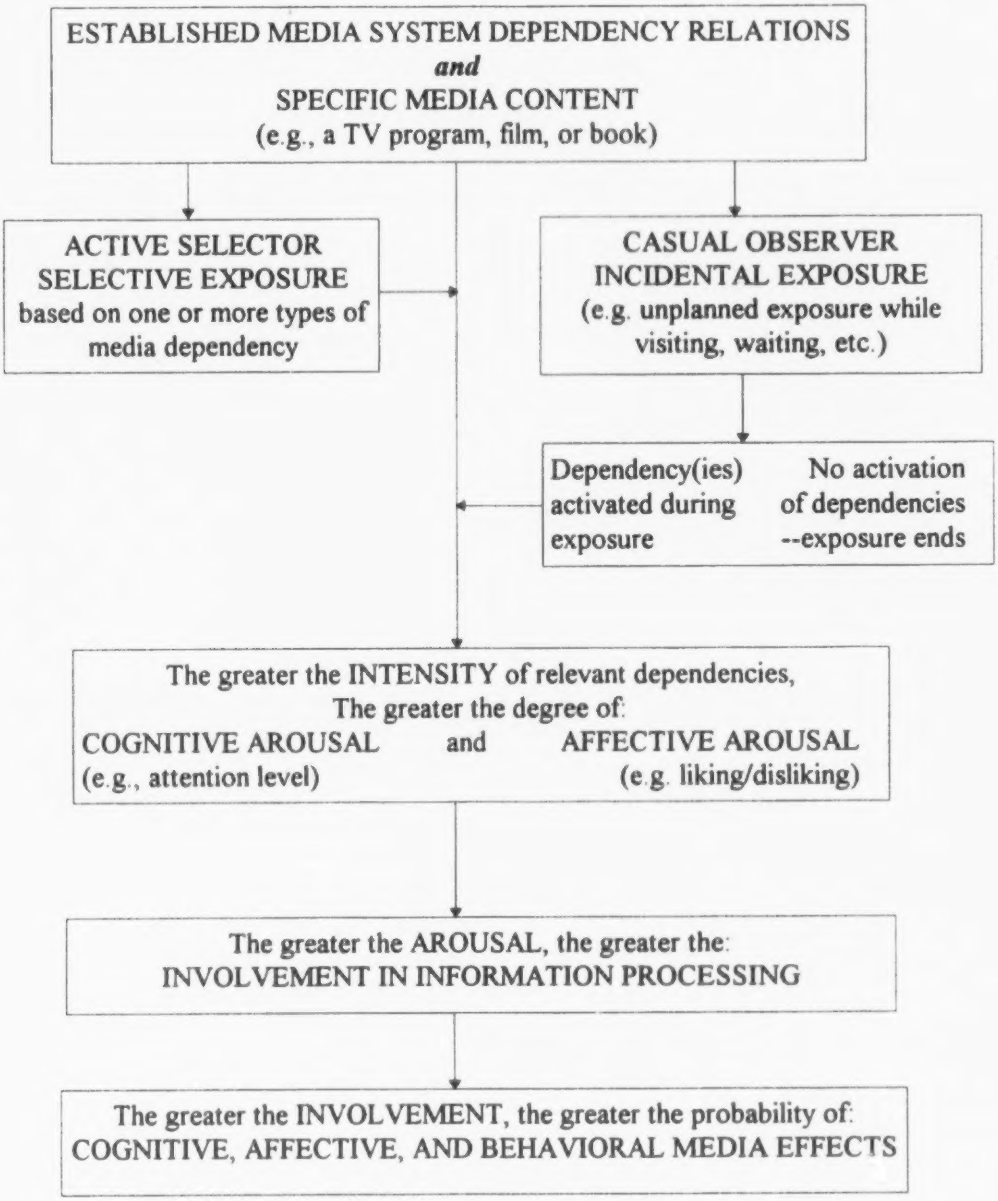
ESTABLISHED MEDIA SYSTEM DEPENDENCY RELATIONS
and
SPECIFIC MEDIA CONTENT
(e.g., a TV program, film, or book)
ACTIVE SELECTOR
SELECTIVE EXPOSURE
based on one or more types of media dependency
CASUAL OBSERVER
INCIDENTAL EXPOSURE
(e.g. unplanned exposure while visiting, waiting, etc.)
Dependency(ies) activated during exposure
No activation of dependencies --exposure ends
The greater the INTENSITY of relevant dependencies,
The greater the degree of:
COGNITIVE AROUSAL
and
AFFECTIVE AROUSAL
(e.g., attention level)
(e.g. liking/disliking)
The greater the AROUSAL, the greater the:
INVOLVEMENT IN INFORMATION PROCESSING
The greater the INVOLVEMENT, the greater the probability of:
COGNITIVE, AFFECTIVE, AND BEHAVIORAL MEDIA EFFECTS

Figure 1. The Process of Effects of Specific Media Content on Individuals. From DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989, p. 312).

Table 1

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Women's Dependency on Advertising for Information about Personal Care Products (*N* = 380)

Variable	B	SE B	Beta
Step 1 – Constant = 4.12			
Fashion Magazines	.408	.169	.128**
Daytime Television	.845	.307	.144**
Early-Evening Television	-.059	.135	-.022
News Magazines	-.073	.136	-.027
Step 2 – Constant = 2.72			
Fashion Magazines	.084	.142	.026
Daytime Television	.466	.257	.079*
Comfort with Advertising	.603	.047	.554***
Step 3 – Constant = 2.98			
Fashion Magazines	-.070	.153	-.022
Daytime Television	.404	.256	.069*
Comfort with Advertising	.586	.047	.538***
Under 35	.045	.128	.018
College Degree	-.374	.117	-.146**
Married	-.041	.124	-.015

Note. Adjusted R square for Step 1 = .04; for Step 2 = .33; for Step 3 = .35.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations for Variables in the Analysis (*N* = 380)

Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
(1) Advertising Frequency Scale	1.00	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
(2) Fashion Magazines	.17*	1.00	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
(3) Daytime Television	.18*	.27*	1.00	--	--	--	--	--	--
(4) Early-Evening Television	-.04	-.13*	.02	1.00	--	--	--	--	--
(5) News Magazines	-.04	-.00	-.05	.08	1.00	---	---	---	--
(6) Advertising Comfort Scale	.57*	.22*	.17*	-.02	-.10*	1.00	--	--	--
(7) Under 35	.17*	.39*	.19*	-.23*	-.04	.17*	1.00	--	--
(8) College Degree	-.25*	-.30*	-.15*	.17*	.16*	-.17*	-.36*	1.00	--
(9) Married	-.06	-.30*	-.06	.18*	.03	-.03	-.39*	.19*	1.00
Mean	4.19	.20	.05	.38	.35	2.39	.44	.52	.35
Standard Deviation	.832	.26	.14	.32	.31	.77	.32	.32	.31

* $p < .05$

Appendix

Case	Studentized Deleted (Press) Residual	Lev	Sdffit	Sdfbeta Intercpt	Sdfbeta DAYTIME	Sdfbeta FASHION	Sdfbeta EARLYPM	Sdfbeta NEWSMAG	Sdfbeta CFADSCL	Sdfbeta AGEYONG	Sdfbeta GRAD	Sdfbeta MARRIED
*		.0419	.2894	.1023	.1023	.1023	.1023	.1023	.1023	.1023	.1023	.1023
20	4.63312	.06094	1.20700	.31708	.96556	-.32816	-.21350	-.18848	-.41957	.19618	.34292	-.14273
44	3.15263	.01224	.38714	-.02062	-.12887	.21417	-.05022	-.09574	.08926	.03291	-.03996	-.00145

* Cutoff values

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Feminization of Asian (American) Men in US Society and the Mass Media:

An Analysis of *The Ballad of Little Jo*

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Abstract

Asian (American) men have been feminized in US society and the mass media. This paper is composed of two parts. I first trace the history of early Asian immigration and examine how the media and public policies have affected images of feminizd Asian (American) men. I also explore the discourses of racism, sexism, and Orientalism, and how they interrelate to one another and function in feminizing the Asian (American) male.

The second part of this paper is a film analysis. Inspired by the intriguing historical figure of Jo Monaghan, *The Ballad of Little Jo* depicts a double gender reversal in the frontier West. In contrast to the "masculine" image of the main character, Little Jo(sephine), an Asian American man, Tinman, is portrayed with feminine attributes. The narrative of the film serves as an illustration of the process of feminization of Asian (American) men.

I conclude that although American society and the mass media these days rarely connect the Asian American male to many of the old stereotypes, Asian (American) men are still presented as feminine to the extent that they are "silent" and "obedient."

Feminization of Asian (American) Men in US Society and the Mass Media: An Analysis of *The Ballad of Little Jo*

Introduction

In his article, "Beyond Bruce Lee," Shawn Wong (1993) describes a teaching experiences in which he talked about the image of Asian American males. He asked his female students for their opinions about having Asian American men as lovers or dates. The feedback he got was that they were "nerdy, wishy-washy, [and] domineering mama's boy[s]" because, compared to white men, they seem not to be strong, independent, or masculine enough. In other words, to borrow Wong's phrase, Asian American men are not "the Marlboro Man" (p. 64). In fact, portrayals of Asian men have long been distorted and relied on stereotypes in both the American media and society. Some research, although very limited, has been done on the image of Asian men as corrupt and addicted to opium, as a dangerous yellow peril, as the cunning Dr. Fu Manchu, and as Kung Fu fanatics like Bruce Lee. However, little attention has been paid to the feminized stereotypes of Asian men.

This paper examines how the American media and public policies have effected images of feminized Asian (American)[1] men. I will first explore racist, sexist, and Orientalist discourses. These come together to

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[1] The mainstream American media have collapsed culture into race. To many American media organizations, all people with Asian racial characteristics constitute a single type, no matter their countries of origin in Asia or whether they were born in the United States. For example, when talking about "the model minority," the American media wrongly create an image that all Asian ethnic groups are successful and even "outwhite" whites in American society. They fail to differentiate between people based on country of origin, economic status, or even length of American residence. I do not distinguish between different types of Asians (and Asian Americans) only so that I can deal with racial stereotypes head on, not because I agree with such a move. However, because Chinese were the earliest Asian immigrants in the United States, many stereotypes imposed on Asians derived from white/Chinese relations. This paper thus relies heavily on depictions of early Chinese immigrants in American literature and media images.

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feminize Asian men. Then I will analyze *The Ballad of Little Jo* (1993), a film about a white female who reversed her gender in the frontier West and her secret romance with a Chinese man. The narrative of the film illustrates the process of the feminization of Asian men.

Weaving Racism, Sexism, and Orientalism: Feminization of Asian (American) Men

The origin of the feminized image of Asian men in both American society and the mass media can be traced to the nineteenth century. Two factors contributed to this image: the physical appearance of Asian men and the work in which they were engaged (Dicker, 1979; Mark and Chin, 1992; Goellnicht, 1992; Lim, 1994). Beginning in the late 1840s, Chinese men were shipped as laborers to the United States as the earliest Asian immigrants in this country. Afraid of losing their national identity and later of being identified with revolutionaries in China (Kingston, 1980), most Chinese immigrants refused to give up their traditional customs and long queues. These "strangers from a different shore" wore what sociologist Robert E. Park calls a "racial uniform," and were physically distinguishable from majority European immigrants (Takaki, 1989, p. 13). Because of this, they were largely viewed as human oddities in the minds of whites. Hubert Howe Bancroft observed:

> . . . [T]he fresh-imported and cleanly scraped Chinaman, with his half-shaven head, his long braided queue, his oblique almond eyes, his catgut voice, his plain blue frock, or if a man of consequence, arrayed in a flashy silk tunic. . . . [He] stand[s] before me now, a mixture of the child, the slave, and the sphinx" (Wong, 1978, p. vi).

Chinese males' "long braided queue," "oblique almond eyes," "catgut voice," "flashy silk tunic" along with their short and slim figures[2] were characterized not only as novel but also as feminine by whites.

More importantly, the work that early Asian male immigrants engaged in helped to construct their feminized image in the United States. These "veritable god-send" immigrants (as white employers saw them) worked with whites initially as gold miners and later railroad construction workers. The subsequent decline of gold production and the completion of the Central Pacific Railroad left hundreds of white and Asian laborers unemployed. They flooded into western towns looking for jobs. At the same time, American society was experiencing a period of economic depression. Plummeting stock markets, drought in California, and economic depression motivated labor unions to fight for white workers exploited by monopolies and other capitalist businesses. When white workers struck and demanded higher pay, capitalists turned to cheaper Chinese laborers. White workers accused the "heathen Chinee" of taking their jobs and thus stirred up anti-Chinese sentiment. Although Chinese workers constituted only .002 percent of the US population, this movement to protect white laborers' rights made foreign laborers the objects of blame. In order to "defuse an issue agitating white workers [and] to alleviate class tensions within white society" (Takaki, 1989, p. 111), exclusionists in Congress supported the call that "the-Chinese-must-go" and passed exclusionary legislation and laws limiting aliens' occupations. Chinese men were turned away from factory production and occupations in which they competed against whites, and thereby were forced into occupations devalued by Euro-American men. Chinese men became restricted to service positions such as cooks, waiters, dishwashers, and laundrymen. According to Takaki (1989), one out of four employed Chinese males in the United States in 1900 was a laundryman. They engaged in work traditionally perceived as women's work; such jobs were available because of the paucity of women in western states (Wong, 1978; Dicker, 1979; Oehling, 1980; Takaki, 1989; Mark and Chin, 1992; Lim, 1994).

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[2] Like people in other countries, there are variations in the physical size of Chinese. Generally speaking, people in the southern part of China are shorter and slimmer compared to people in the North. The majority of early Chinese immigrants were from Canton, the Southernmost province of China. To Europeans, the short and slim figures of the southern Chinese male evoke image of females.

Images found in contemporary cartoons and pictures of Asian Americans support this argument. Dicker (1979, p. 34) presents a cartoon from the *Wild West* in which two Chinese laundrymen are caricatured as females, dressed in gowns and with their queues prominently displayed, ironing and mending (Figure 1). Another cartoon, entitled "Helena's Correct Standards of Living" (Mark and Chin, 1993, p. 39), similarly shows two long-haired Chinese men serving as cooks and "maids" at white people's dinner table (Figure 2).

Feminized portrayals of the Chinese male are also found in such commercial products as song sheet covers (Mark and Chih, 1993, p. 30). In this case, the Chinese male is not only feminized, but also infantilized. Dressed in a feminine gown and with hands demurely clasped, he is seen bowing in a submissive posture. His slanted eyes are set in a chubby childish face above an empty grin (Figure 3). In interpreting this picture, Lim (1994) argues that like women, feminized Asian men are perceived to be incapable of achieving the powers and positions of adulthood.

Not only mass culture, but also public policies, feminized Asian males. In 1882, along with lunatics, idiots, and criminals, Chinese were the first immigrants to be suspended by federal law from entry into the United States. In 1884, the law was clarified to ensure that the wives of Asian laborers would also be denied entrance to the United States. At the same time, in order to preserve "white supremacy" and "racial purity," anti-miscegenation laws prohibited Asian men from marrying white women.[3] Such intermarriage was punished in some states as a "gross misdemeanor" or "infamous crime;" Asian husbands were subjected to severe fines ($500 in Nevada, for example) or up to ten years' imprisonment in Maryland (Kim, 1982). Any American woman who married an Asian man, according to the Cable Act of 1922, "cease[d] to be a citizen of the United States"[4] (quoted in Takaki, 1989, p. 15); Asian men were denied naturalization regardless of length of residency in the United States. The "victimized" (as American society saw it) white females could regain their citizenship only if they divorced their Asian husbands (Wong, 1978). These laws, in effect, made the Chinese community a bachelor society and condemned Asian males in the United States to a life of bachelorhood. In other words, these laws deprived heterosexual Asian American males of sexual expression and potential fatherhood (Wang, 1988; Lim, 1994). Ironically, in preventing interracial marriage, dominant white males had both made and broken the law. They transgressed interracial sexual prohibitions with relative impunity, while demanding that white females adhere rigidly to the prohibitions (Sickels, 1972).

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[3] Like blacks, Asians were viewed as threats to white racial purity. At California's constitutional convention of 1878, John F. Miller warned: "Were the Chinese to amalgamate at all with our people, it would be the lowest, most vile and degraded of our race, and the result of that amalgamation would be a hybrid of the most despicable, a mongrel of the most detestable that has ever afflicted the earth." In 1880, California lawmakers ceased issuing marriage licenses to any white person who wished to wed with a "negro, mulatto, or Mongolian" (quoted in Takaki, 1989, p. 101-102).

[4] The Cable Act was amended in 1931, permitting American women who married aliens to retain their US citizenship.

Parallel to these public policies, the Motion Picture Production Code[5] was adopted in February 1930 to "protect moral values" of the film industry. The Code stated that miscegenation in movies was undesirable, thereby "building a color barrier in Hollywood's dream worlds as rigid as the color line in America's real world" (Miller, 1980, p. 3). The Code represented an assimilationist ideal for white ethnic groups and a segregationist ideal for the "colored folks." Miller writes that long after the Code's demise, the fear of miscegenation of white and colored races continued to influence the content of Hollywood movies.

In analyzing American films produced prior to the end of the Vietnam War, Eugene Wong (1978) does find a few instances of white-Asian relationships, however. He argues that a system of "double standardized miscegenation" was transplanted into American popular culture and functioned to directly oppose the sexuality of Asian males. According to Wong, the American mass media portrayed three images of interracial sex between Asians and whites:

1. Interracial sex was allowed if the partners, both as actors and screen characters, were a white male and an Asian female.
2. The media prohibited any depiction of interracial sex between an actual Asian male actor and a white female actress.
3. It permitted interracial sex to be shown on screen so long as the Asian male character was in fact a white man in cosmetics.

To emphasize the supremacy and masculine qualities of white males and to forbid sexual relations of Asian males and white females, Asian males have often been portrayed in the American mass media as either dangerous rapists or eunuchs. As Wong (1978) points out, in romantic potential Asian male characters are essentially feminized; in sexual potential their characters are depicted primarily as rapists. The *Old San Francisco* (1927), for example, portrays an Asian man's intentions to seduce and rape a young white woman from California's Spanish-American aristocracy. In contrast to the portrayal of Asian males on screen, white males are generally masculine and romantic and attract both white and Asian female passion. *Madame Butterfly* (1915 and 1932) probably is one of the best-known examples of this kind.

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[5] To avoid government censorship, the film industry regulated itself by adopting the Production Code in order to present a common standard on sex and crime in the movies. The Code insisted that "evil and good are never to be confused throughout the presentation" and good must prevail in the end. It was originally drafted by a Catholic priest and a Catholic publisher in the late 1920s.

The feminization of the Asian male in US popular culture demonstrates the intersection of race and gender discourses. The Asian male immigrant was racially stereotyped in ways that placed him within a subservient or dependent gender category.

Maxine Hong Kingston's *China Men* (1980) describes the feminization or emasculation of the Asian male on entry into US culture. In the beginning chapter, "On Discovery," Tang Ao, a Chinese man, enters a new world with the assurance of his male identity. By a gradual process, a form of de-masculinization (by eating women's food[6]) or cross-gender acculturation (by having his ears pierced, wearing women's clothes and threatening of sewing his lips together--to make him silent), he is stripped of male power and is transformed into a serving woman. The land of "Gold Mountain," "the country with no women" (Hong, 1980, p. 54) where Asian men came for fame and fortune, at the end turned them into

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[6] Kingston describes that in order to make Tang Ao more feminine, he was fed with thick tea "with white chrysanthemums [to stir] the cool female winds inside his body; chicken wings [to make] his hair shine; [and] vinegar soup [to improve] his womb" (1980, p. 2).

"women." *China Men* indicates an allegorical portrayal of the disempowerment of the Asian immigrant in US society. In this story, becoming a women means to be disempowered, to be made subservient (Goellnicht, 1992; Lim, 1994).

Similarly, Etienne Balibar (1991) argues that sexism and racism constitute

> . . . *historical system[s] of complementary exclusions and dominations which are mutually interconnected.* In other words, it is not in practice simply the case that an 'ethnic racism' and a 'sexual racism' exist in parallel; racism and sexism function together and in particular, *racism always presupposes sexism* (p. 49) [emphasis in original].

In interpreting *China Men*, Lim (1994) points out that Kingston uses sexism (the oppression of gender roles that position the woman as inferior and subservient) as a trope for racism (the oppression of racial roles that position Asians as inferior and subservient) to illustrate the social condition of Asian men in the United States. Alfred Wang (1988) writes, "No other racial groups have been subjected to worse legalized personal, collective, and sexual deprivation than the Chinese male immigrants between 1868 . . . and 1952" (p. 18). Kingston describes in *China Men* how the "Ruling Fathers" (dominant white males) reserved positions of power while forcing Asian men into feminine subject positions of inferiority. Lim (1994) asserts that Kingston "disarticulates gender roles from biological essentialism, and underlines the notion that gender is a cultural and political construct, not an innate biological quality" (p. 100). In the position of servitude, without the legislative power of the citizen, the Asian male immigrant has historically been symbolically gendered as female.

In his influential book, *Orientalism*, Said (1994) supports this argument, claiming that "the relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony . . ." (p. 5). The Orient is characterized by the West as feminine because it is "depraved," "lacking control," "degenerate," "weak," "silent," "passive," "submissive," and an "object" to watch and examine. To the Western male mind, the "non-active" and "non-autonomous" Orientals, like women, "never spoke of [themselves], [they] never represented [their] emotions, presence, or history" (p. 6). The Asian man is "first Oriental [with female attributes] and only second a man" (p. 231). In Karl Marx's words, "'They cannot represent themselves;'" therefore, "'they must be represented'" (quoted in Said, 1994, p. 293), presumably by the West. With its assumed essentialism, this feminine characteristic of Asian men, in the dominant paradigm, is not subject to change.

As American-born Asian males, Chin and his colleagues (1974) complain that they are stereotyped as "womanly" and "effeminate" in the American society. They argue, "White America is . . . securely indifferent about us as men," and that Asian American men have become "the white male's dream minority . . . patient, submissive, esthetic, passive, accommodating, essentially feminine in character" (Kim, 1982, p. 179). This group of Asian American male writers also point out that they are seen, in both reality and stereotype, as "characteristically timid and docile" and are denied of "traditionally masculine qualities of originality, daring, physical courage, and creativity" by American society (Chin and Chan, 1972, p. 68, 69). In white Americans' minds, Asian men, "at their best, are effeminate closet queens like Charlie Chan and, at their worst, are homosexual menaces like Fu Manchu"[7] (Chan, et. al., 1991, p. xiii).

These writers view the Asian American experience as unique from that of other racial minorities in the United States because of white racist attempts to exclude Asian Americans not only from American culture and society, but also from "the realm of manliness." They assert that reaffirmation of Asian American cultural integrity necessarily requires the assertion of a "recognized style of Asian American manhood in a society where a manly style is prerequisite to respectability and note" (Chin and Chan, 1972, p. 72). These writers conclude that manliness means "aggressiveness, creativity, individuality, just being taken seriously," while femininity means "lacking daring, originality, aggressiveness, assertiveness, [and] vitality" (Kim, 1982, p. 198). In defending Asian American males' masculinity, they ironically reproduce the sexist stereotypes of male superiority over women.

When not "disempowered" into a feminine figure, the Asian male was associated with opium addiction or qualities of cunning, malevolence, spite, and evil. In fact, the portrayal of dirty, crowded, degenerate, morally weakened, diseased opium dens in the mass media was used and manipulated by some American politicians to sustain their argument that

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[7] Fu Manchu and Charlie Chan are both fictional characters. Fu Manchu is a creation of novelist Sax Rohmer. With his Satanic power, medical knowledge, and scientific equipment, this diabolical Chinese male intends to overthrow the white race. Chan and his colleagues (1991) characterize the portrayal of Fu Manchu as homosexual because he "wear[s] a long dress, bat[s] his eyelashes, [is] surrounded by black [male] servants in loin cloths, and [has a] habit of caressingly touching white men on the leg, wrist, and face with his long fingernails . . ." (quoted in Kim, 1982, p. 179). Charlie Chan, created by Earl Derr Biggers, is an over-weight Asian detective who speaks pidgin English with pseudo-Confucian aphorisms, and with his beady eyes half-closed, uses his "six sense" to solve mysterious murder cases. This character was extremely popular in the United States. According to Biggers, Charlie Chan was created "as a refutation of the unfortunate Fu Manchu characterization of the Chinese" (quoted in Kim, 1982, p. 18). This character, however, imposes other stereotypes of Chinese men: stupid, asexual, and "old-woman-like."

Asians (especially Chinese) were unassimilable and undesirable immigrants (Figure 4 exemplifies common attitudes toward Chinese immigrants).

In reviewing Anglo-American literature, Kim (1982) finds two basic kinds of stereotypes of Asian men in American popular culture: the "bad" and the "good" Asian men. The "bad" Asian males are the sinister villains and brute hordes, neither of which can be controlled by the Anglos and both of which must therefore be destroyed. *The Yellow Peril* (1908), the long-running *Fu Manchu* (1913-1930s) series, and the *Broken Blossoms* (1919) exemplify the images of Asian men as dangerous and villainous. One cartoon entitled "In the Clutches of the Chinese tiger" from *The Wasp* in 1885 (Mark and Chih 1993, p. 60) illustrates the exclusionists' goal of blocking the growing and dangerous tiger (Asian immigrants) from entering the United States; otherwise, white Americans, who raise the tiger, will eventually be eaten by it (Figure 5).

The "good" Asian males, on the other hand, are the helpless heathens to be saved by the Anglo heroes, loyal war allies, sidekicks, and cheerful servants. The character of the asexual Charlie Chan is one of this kind. No matter whether the portrayal of Asian male is "good" or "bad," argues Kim, such depictions serve to define the Anglo as superior physically, spiritually, and morally.

> When the Asian male is heartless and treacherous, the Anglo is shown indirectly as imbued with integrity and humanity; when the Asian male is a cheerful and docile inferior, he projects the Anglo's benevolence and importance (1982, p. 4).

As a result, much of the American mass media offered Americans the alternate images of Asians as "safe" and feminized, or corrupt, malevolent, and male. To become an acceptable Asian in American culture, as the editors of *Aiiieeeee!: An Anthology of Asian-American Writers* (1975, 1991) point out, the Asian American male has to be made "safe." In other words, he has to be demasculinized and characterized as feminine.

This argument reflects the stereotypes of Asians as a threatening masculine "yellow peril" or harmless feminized "model minority." The concept of "yellow peril" originates from Anglo-American novels (i.e. Louise Jordan Miln's *Mr. and Mrs. Sen,* 1923) which indicate the risk about interracial marriage that the yellow race would ultimately overwhelm and swallow up the white: "The Mongolian is a persistent type; and such mixed marriages as ours, through some inscrutable law of Nature, seem almost sure to perpetuate, and even to emphasize, one racial type and ignore the other" (Quoted in Kim, 1982, p. 10). With such fear of potential genetic mixing of Anglo-Americans with Asians, considered biologically inferior by many whites in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and a possible military invasion from Asia, white Americans mobilized anti-Asian sentiment within the United States (Wu, 1982). This fear of the "yellow peril," along with the belief of white superiority, later became justification for the white expansion and colonization of the non-Western world. Gary Y. Okihiro (1994) argues that to whites, the yellow peril denoted "a masculine threat of military and sexual conquest" (p. 142) from the Asian, and because of this, Asians needed to be vanquished.

With economic success, the social status of Asian Americans has changed since World War II from "just like blacks" to "near whites." *US News and World Report* describes this change as an evolution of Asian Americans' plight "'from hardship and discrimination to becom[ing] a model of self-respect and achievement in today's America'" (December 26, 1966, p. 73). During the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement, the American media created the "model minority" image of Asian Americans. Using Foucault's theory of social production of discourse to control and explain social phenomena, Nakayama (1988) asserts that the creation of the "model minority" is an attempt of white Americans "to control and explain the 'place' of Asian Americans in American society" (p. 67). Within this discourse, Asian Americans simply serve the role of the "model" upon which other minorities are asked to base their behaviors. Chin and Chan (1972) share the same view, saying that this "racist love" of Asians is used merely as a trick by white Americans to show blacks and other "troublesome" minority groups ("racist hate") an "acceptable way" to follow.

According to Okihiro (1994), this image of a "safe," "harmless" model minority symbolizes a perception by white Americans of a feminized position of passivity and malleability of Asian Americans today. Echoing Nakayama, Chin and Chan, and Okihiro's arguments, Sau-ling Cynthia Wong (1992) also notes that the emasculation (or effeminization) of the Asians is "an index for the entire group's marginalization and its function as the 'good natives' in American cultural myth" (p. 112).

The Ballad of Little Jo

As Said (1994) argues, television, films, and all the media's resources have forced information into more and more standardized molds. In other words, the mass media have reinforced the stereotypes. In this part of my paper, I analyze a film, *The Ballad of Little Jo* (Fine Line Features & Polygram Filmed Entertainment, 1993), to illustrate my argument that Asian men have been discursively produced as feminine in American society and popular culture.

The Ballad of Little Jo is inspired by the intriguing historical figure Jo Monaghan--about whom we know almost nothing other than the fact that she worked as a rancher and for several decades passed herself off as a man. This film (directed by Maggie Greenwald) attempts to fictionally fill in the missing details of her life.

The setting of the movie is the United States during the late nineteenth century. The story begins with Josephine Monaghan (Suzy Amis) traveling through a prairie reflecting on the situation which brings her there. She was born into and grew up in a well-to-do Eastern family. While unmarried, she becomes pregnant by a family photographer. After she gives birth, her family expels her from home; she deposits her child with a married sister and heads westward. As a woman traveling alone, Josephine is once almost sold by an old man who gives her a ride. She realizes that as a single woman traveling alone, men will attempt to take advantage of her. In order to survive, she decides to become a man. Therefore, she puts on men's clothes, although she knows that this is against the law. She even cuts herself on the face to look rougher and more “man-like.”

She finally rids in a Western mining town, Ruby City, and settles down with her new identity--Mr. Jo(e) Monaghan. Because of her small figure and child-like face, people call her "Little Joe." As a newcomer, she faces hostility from other townsmen. People mock her and tell her that she is too delicate or too young to be in the frontier West. To gain acceptance, she learns how to eat, talk, and behave like the men. By taking on and accomplishing difficult tasks, she gradually earns people's trust, builds a reputation, and acquires her own ranch. To avoid revealing her female identity, she lives alone and refuses to become close to anyone. People respect her privacy and leave her alone, holding no suspicion about her background.

A Chinese man, Tinman Wong (David Chung), comes to town one day and is mocked and about to be hanged by men in town who accuses him of intending to steal jobs from white men. Little Jo sees the situation and asks them to let the Chinese man go. Frank Badger, a former employer of Little Jo, tells her that they will not let Tinman go unless she hires the Chinese man as a cook. Little Jo unwillingly takes Tinman home and has him perform all of the housework. Tinman eventually finds out that Little Jo is not a man. They then become lovers. Little Jo is always frightened that people will find out her true identity and her relationship with an "alien Chinaman." She wants to sell her ranch and move to a place where she can be herself and start a new life with her Chinese lover. However, she quickly realizes that this is an unrealistic dream because interracial marriage is forbidden and Tinman (as an Asian man) will not be able to protect her in a white society. Yet, they are able to keep the secret throughout their lives. Although people are surprised about how well Little Jo gets along with a Chinese man, no one has discovered their relationship.

Tinman dies some years later. Little Jo also becomes weaker. While coming to visit, Frank, Little Jo's former employer, sees the dying Little Jo and intends to take her to a doctor. She dies on the road and he therefore takes her to a funeral home. When the undertaker is changing her clothes, he finds to his surprise that Little Jo is a woman. Her identity is finally revealed and her story makes headlines in newspapers.

There is yet another gender reversal hidden in this movie which film critics overlook: the feminized Chinese man, Tinman. Examination and analysis of the portrayal of this character's duties, personality, physical weakness, and sexuality in the film provides an example of how the Asian male has been feminized in American society.

Like many Asian male immigrants in the early days, Tinman engages in types of housework traditionally seen as women's responsibilities. Asian men had long been a threat to white men in competition for jobs in the frontier West. The anti-Chinese movement pressured governments into passing laws limiting aliens to certain occupations, thus reducing Asian men's opportunities in the labor market and forcing them to go into kitchens and laundryrooms. In this film, Tinman is almost hanged because the white men suspect that this Chinese man is going to steal their jobs. In order to eliminate him as a competitor, they ask Little Jo to take him home and have him do housework. Tinman, like a maid or a housewife, cooks meals, bakes pies, cleans house, washes laundry and mends clothes for his employer. A series of stereotyped gender role reversals appear in the film to reinforce the femininity of Tinman and the masculinity of Little Jo. For example, when Tinman gingerly prepares a meal, Little Jo sits and waits for food at the table; when Tinman is silently mending Little Jo's clothes in the far, dark corner, she writes and reads in the brighter foreground; when he is washing clothes in a river, Little Jo is shearing the sheep in the ranch. Such images reflect the stereotyped life of a frontier family, but with a reversal of traditional roles between men and women.

The false stereotype of the female's passive, submissive, obedient traits and her inability to represent herself are also reflected in Tinman's personality. When he first appears on screen, although unjustly mocked, he is silent and does not complain about his mistreatment. When the white men ask Little Jo to take Tinman as a cook, he says nothing. After he becomes the servant of Little Jo, he is absolutely obedient. The phrase Tinman most frequent utters in the film is, "Yes, Mr. Jo(e)." He fulfills every request from Little Jo, even when she commands him to stay out of the house in severe weather.

Little Jo's determination and open-minded characteristics are contrasted against Tinman's passive and submissive traits. After living with Little Jo for some time, Tinman confesses to her that he knows she is not "Mr. Jo(e)." This "fact", however, does not change his femininity and Little Jo's masculinity. Being afraid of Little Jo, Tinman shyly steps back to the corner, bows his head and dares not to look at her. Little Jo, although shocked (or mad) initially, calmly explains, "Jo stands for Josephine not Joseph."

After they become lovers, Little Jo worries that they will be killed if people find out her true identity and her relationship with an "alien Chinaman." Feminized Tinman can only increase Little Jo's anxiety by passively saying that people would kill them "unquestionably and brutally." Unlike white maverick heroes in western movies, Tinman is not "brave" and "manly" enough to challenge the injustice and inequality in society.

Tinman is also portrayed as physically weak. To hide her female identity at the beginning, Little Jo commands Tinman to build a shelter for himself. Although he looks tanned and strong, Tinman is in fact too weak to lift logs or do any work requiring physical strength. He explains that after 15 years in railroad construction, he is no longer strong enough to perform heavy labor. (His weakness, whether intended to do so or not, serves as a symbol of the de-masculinzation of the Asian male accomplished through paid employment in the United States.) Therefore, he can only help with some trivial tasks, such as delivering nails or holding the logs.

Little Jo looks small and pale, but is the one who lifts logs, climbs up ladders, and builds the shelter for Tinman.

Tinman's illness reinforces his image of being physically weak and dependent. He is what Kim (1982) calls a “good” Asian who is the helpless yellow man to be saved by the physically and spiritually “superior” whites. Because of his illness, Tinman is seen as the dependent one in the marital relationship and is reliant on Little Jo for support and security. Indeed, Tinman can survive only if "his (white) man" (Little Jo) does not abandon him.

The sexuality of Tinman is characterized as female. First of all, Tinman's long hair is used as a symbol of his femininity. According to John Berger (1972, p. 55), "hair is associated with sexual power" in women. In one scene, Tinman, with his hair flowing over his shoulders, stands half naked while washing himself in a river. The sunlight shines from his back and makes his hair shiny and attractive. At that moment, Little Jo rides slowly toward him, looking intently at him. This scene reminds us of Laura Mulvey's notion of the “male gaze,” in which the woman figure in film is displayed merely as an erotic object to be looked at. As Budd Boetticher puts it,

> What counts is what the heroine provokes, or rather what she represents. She is the one, or rather the love or fear she inspires in the hero, or else the concern he feels for her, who makes him act the way he does. In herself the woman has not the slightest importance” (Mulvey, 1989, p. 19).

This scene reinforces the active/male and passive/female stereotype. “Men act and women appear. Men look at women . . .” (Berger, 1972, p. 87). Like women in many other movies, photographs, and commercials, Tinman becomes an erotic object for the visual pleasure of the “man” who wants him as well as the spectators in the theater.

Stereotypes of sexual roles between men and women mark the film. Said points out, “The West [male] is the actor, the Orient [female] a passive reactor” (1994, p. 109). When they make love, Little Jo is always the initiator and Tinman the responder; and he is always sexually ready when Little Jo makes the move. He longs for Little Jo's kisses and waits for her to rip his clothes off. The way that Little Jo touches Tinman's long hair reminds viewers about the way men in many other movies play with women's hair.

Tinman's male's sexuality is denied on another level. This occurs when Little Jo shows him her picture before she becomes a "man." She asks him whether he likes her as a woman. Tinman answers, "I like you much better now" because "this white girl would never do this [make love] to me." As mentioned earlier, under the restriction of anti-miscegenation laws, interracial sex or marriage between Asian men and Caucasian women was forbidden. Without her being a "man," their relationship could never have happened. Tinman says to Little Jo, "You find peace as a man; I find peace living with you." To maintain this relationship, Tinman wants Little Jo to keep her male identity and is willing to be her secret lover.

Being afraid of people uncovering her female identity and her relationship with a Chinese man, Little Jo once decides to sell her ranch and start a new life as a woman somewhere else. Tinman reacts hysterically, "What man will want you?" and "You have no hair and have a scar on your face." Isn't he himself a man? Why must he deny his male characteristics and identity? Being given and depicted as female characters, Asian males are not considered and recognized (even by themselves) as men in this white male dominated society.

Conclusion

The way the West deals with the East has shifted from manifest Orientalism to latent Orientalism (Said, 1994). This means that Orientalists in recent years have changed the way they write about the Orient. However, unconsciously (or sometimes consciously) the way they perceive and treat the East has not changed much since the eighteenth century. Orientalists nowadays might not explicitly express the notion of the superior (masculine) West and the inferior (feminine) East; rather, they make the same point in more implicit and subtle ways. This argument can be applied to the feminized stereotype of Asian (American) men. Although American society and the mass media these days rarely connect the Asian (American) male to long queues and loose silky gowns, they are still presented as feminine to the extent that they are "silent" and "obedient." To the dominant whites, Asian Americans are minorities, they are merely Americanized Asians, and they are, after all, essentially Orientals, with the feminine connotations of that label. Asian men are rarely portrayed as husbands, fathers, or lovers. Rather, they are often shown as housekeepers, waiters, or ruthless foreign businessmen. Even if they are portrayed as lovers, like Tinman in this movie, Asian men are not able to fulfill their role as "real men" because they are "weak," "passive," and "eunuch-like." From newspaper cartoons in the early days to the silver screen in recent years (movies such as *The Ballad of Little Jo* [as I illustrate in this paper],*The Last Emperor*, *M. Butterfly*, and *Fearwell My Concubine*.), American society and its mass media unfortunately continue to marginalize Asians by producing feminized images of the Asian (American) male.

This paper contributes to our understanding in several areas. First, it provides a brief history of how early Asian immigrants were (mis)treated in American society and the mass media. Second, as I mentioned earlier, literature about Asian Americans is limited. This paper expands not only the literature on Asian Americans but also on mass communication by examining how Orientalism, racism and sexism combine to produce feminized portrayals of Asian men in the mass media. Third, this paper calls attention to a problem within racial discourse by and about the mass media. More specifically, although racial problems have been abundantly discussed in both the media and academia, they are often framed in terms of black and white. Because the experiences of ethnic minorities in the United States are different, the experiences of African Americans cannot be adequately applied to Asian Americans. Thus, more attention should be paid by the students of media to minority groups other than African Americans.

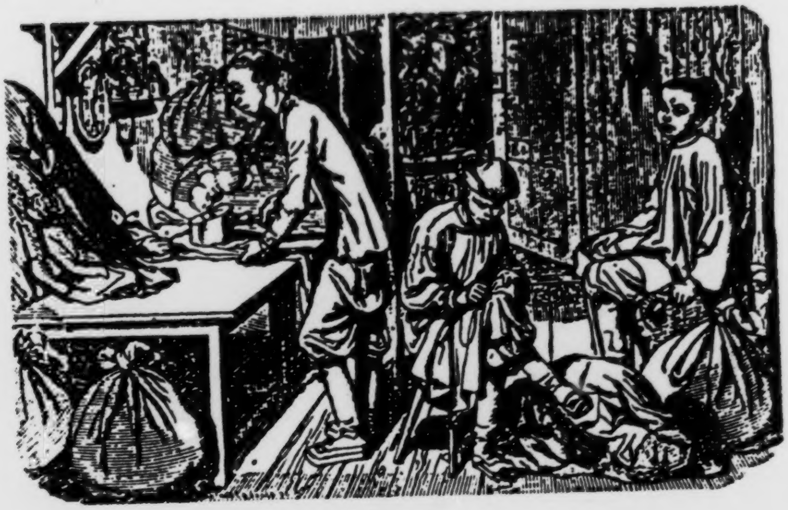

Figure 1: "A Chinese Wash-House"
Reproduced from the *Wide West*
(Dicker, 1979, p. 34)

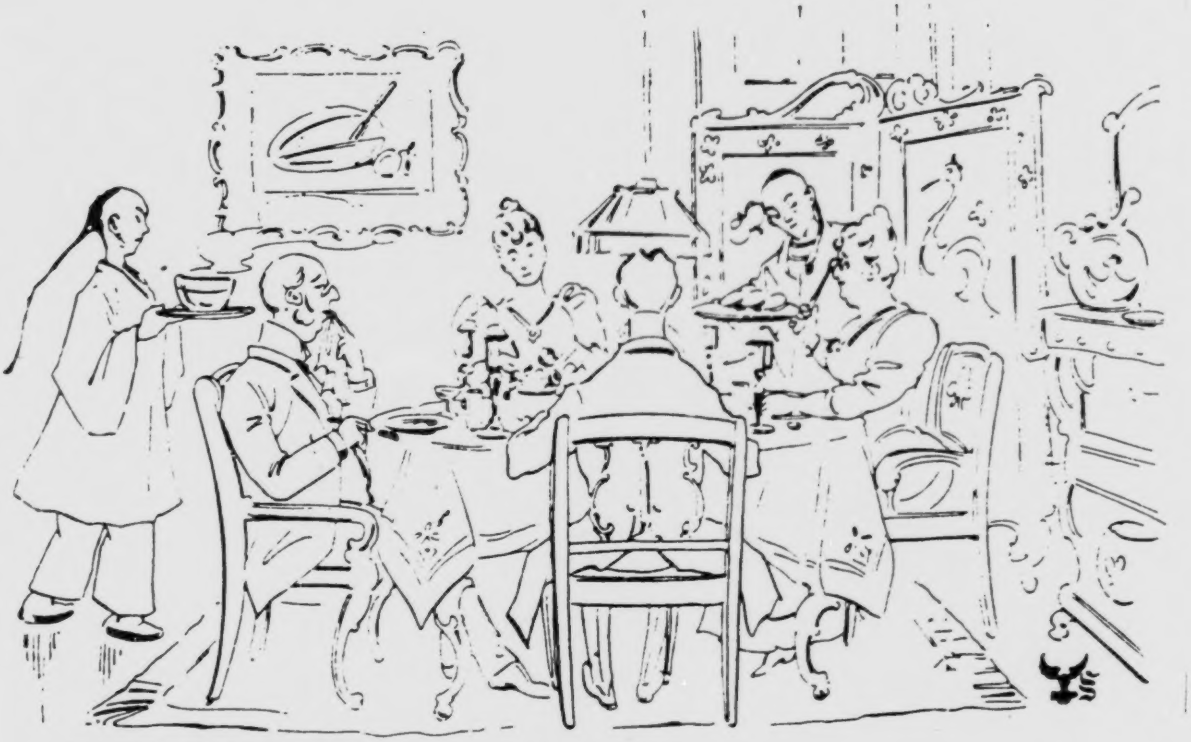

Figure 2: "Helena's Correct Standards of Living"
From the collection of Montana Historical Society
(Mark and Chin, 1993, p. 39)

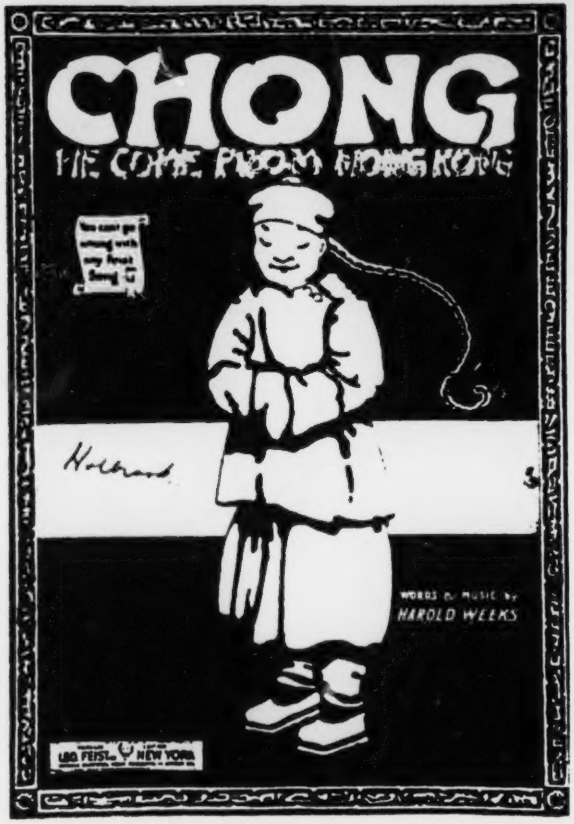
CHONG
HE COME FROM HONG KONG
You can't go wrong with any Feist Song
WORDS & MUSIC by
HAROLD WEEKS
LEO FEIST NEW YORK

Figure 3: A Song Sheet Cover
From the collection of Daniel K. E. Ching
(Mark and Chin, 1993, p. 30)

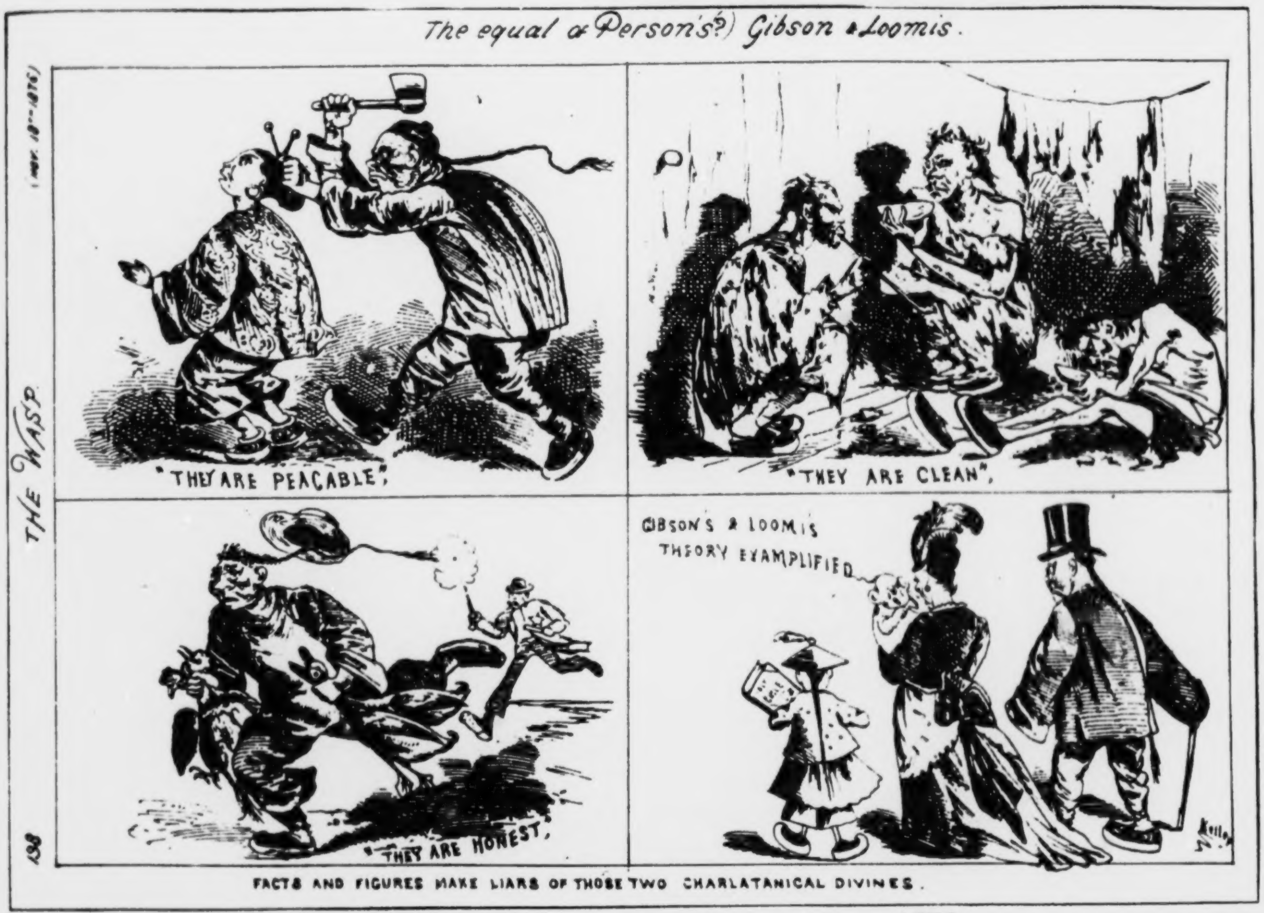
The equal of Person's?) Gibson & Loomis.
(Nov. 18th 1876)
THE WASP
198
"THEY ARE PEACABLE".
"THEY ARE CLEAN".
"THEY ARE HONEST".
GIBSON'S & LOOMIS THEORY EXAMPLIFIED
FACTS AND FIGURES MAKE LIARS OF THOSE TWO CHARLATANICAL DIVINES.

Figure 4: "The Equal of Person's (?)" Reproduced from *The Wasp*, 1876
(Dicker, 1979, p. 59)

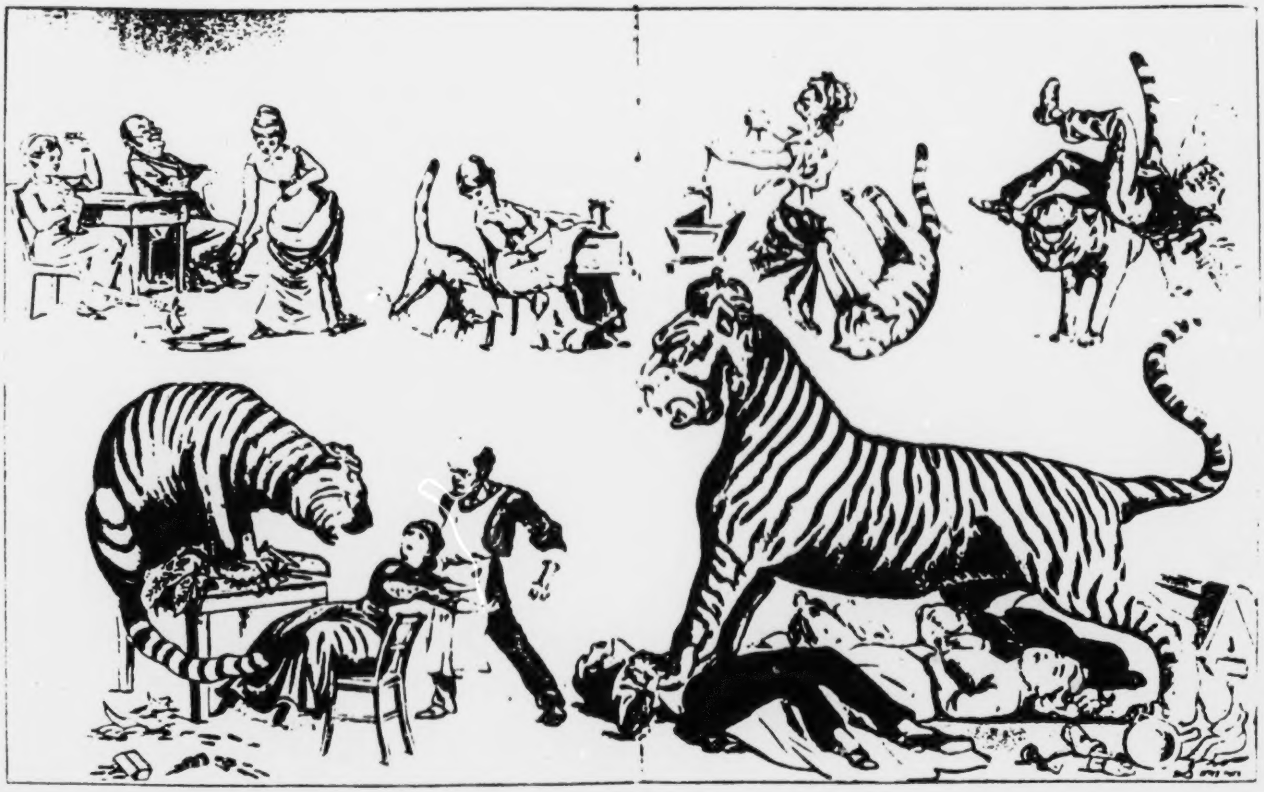

Figure 5: "In the Clutches of the Chinese Tiger"
Reproduced from *The Wasp*, November 7, 1885
(Dicker, 1979, p. 60)

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POWER OF THE PRESS:
HOW NEWSPAPERS IN FOUR COMMUNITIES ERASED THOUSANDS OF CHINESE FROM OREGON HISTORY

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Abstract

This research examines four Oregon newspapers' shoddy treatment of Chinese workers during the 1870s and 1880s. Results show the Chinese, who arrived as miners and railroad workers and comprised as much as half the population of some towns, were virtually excluded from the press. When they did make it into the papers they were almost never named, portrayed as sub-human, and vilified. More importantly, they were excluded from the marketplace of ideas integral to a democracy.

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POWER OF THE PRESS:
HOW NEWSPAPERS IN FOUR COMMUNITIES ERASED THOUSANDS OF CHINESE FROM OREGON HISTORY

In the 1860s, '70s and '80s Chinese laborers by the thousands came to Oregon seeking the fortunes that had attracted countless others before them.

These new pioneers faced many of the same hardships as earlier settlers. There was crime and illness; there were cold winters and even occasional Indian attacks. In better days there were banquets, social-club meetings, days spent kite-flying, New Year's festivities.

But unlike those who crossed the continent along the Oregon Trail, the trials and tribulations of the Chinese were almost never recorded so that today, few records remain of who these immigrants were and what their lives were like.

The exclusion of the Chinese from written records reflected their exclusion from society, and was especially evident in newspapers. In those days one of the functions of these four-page publications, mostly weeklies, was to serve as a social adhesive to keep readers informed about people and events in their communities. Even a cursory review of early Oregon papers would reveal hundreds of items about things such as the size of a local farmer's strawberries or the latest citizen to visit the East Coast.

But the Chinese, who comprised almost half of the population in some towns, were virtually absent from the press. This was the case in

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Astoria, where they made up 47.2 percent of the population; in Grant County, where they made up 41.6 percent of the population; in Baker City, where they were 24.2 percent; and in Jacksonville, where they were 18.5 percent.

And perhaps most importantly, an entire group was shut out of what contemporary journalists call the "marketplace of ideas."

This paper examines newspaper coverage of Chinese immigrants in four 19th century Oregon communities. Sample periods for each community were different and were during years when census reports showed the largest Chinese populations.

The Chinese in Early Oregon

Gold, historians seem to agree, was what brought the first Chinese to Oregon, just as it had lured them to the now-fabled California "gum san," or gold mountain in 1848.

According to Robert Edward Wynne's history of Chinese in the Pacific Northwest, the first Chinese arrived from California shortly after gold was discovered in Southern Oregon's Rogue and Umpqua valleys in 1852.[1] Along with the Chinese miners came the discrimination that was to plague them for generations.

"It is not surprising," writes Wynne, "that the latter should have experienced the hostility of white miners in Oregon Territory. There were many settlers from the southern states who brought with them feelings of dislike for a colored man be he Negro or Chinese."[2]

Then, relates Wynne, other ways were found to discourage the Chinese. In 1857 a $2 per month mining tax was levied on them. The tax was doubled in 1858, along with the imposition of a $4 per month tax on Chinese merchants. Jackson and Josephine counties also required Chinese trading among themselves to purchase a $50 per year license.

These measures did not dampen the lure of the Oregon gold mountain, however. According to Wynne, by 1858 there were more than 1,000 Chinese in Josephine County.[3]

Laws restricting Chinese differed with the locality, according to Wynne. For example, they were permitted to purchase mining claims at Wolf Creek. Likewise, Jackass Creek was what author V. Blue in 1922 dubbed a "cosmopolitan area with many French and Chinese miners."[4] But at Humbug Creek, Chinese were prohibited from buying--or even working--mining claims.

Discrimination such as this became statewide when the constitutional convention decided in August 1857 that the Chinese could neither vote nor own land. These restrictions were formalized when Oregon became a state in 1859.

Curiously, writes Wynne, the state Legislature levied a $5 poll tax on the Chinese even though they were prohibited from voting.

Chinese miners also suffered at the hands--and boots--of their white counterparts. According to Wynne, "An Army captain who traveled through Oregon's mining regions in 1862 observed that the valleys showed Chinese miners ... 'moving from one mining locality to the next, fleeing from the kicks of one to the cuffs of another, with no abiding place.' "[5]

But the Chinese continued to arrive, and at least officially, the curtain of discrimination lifted somewhat in 1864 when the Legislature repealed the discriminatory laws. But it immediately imposed a $4 per quarter mining tax on the Chinese and banned them from giving evidence against or taking legal action against Caucasians.

Wynne writes that the pressure on the Chinese, at least in Southern Oregon, eased somewhat after the late 1850s because much richer gold strikes were made on the upper stretches of the Columbia River in Washington Territory and on the Fraser River in Canada.

In 1861 and 1862 strikes were also made in Baker and Grant counties in Northeast Oregon. Chinese miners, like whites, became afflicted with the fever for a bigger pot of gold and headed north along with droves of other fortune-seekers. Many must have decided to stay in Northeast Oregon.

The Tenth Census of the United States shows that in 1870 a total of 940 Chinese lived in Grant County, mostly in the John Day-Canyon City area, though some probably prospected in outlying camps such as Granite. In Baker County the population centered around Baker City. A story from the Bedrock Democrat, the town's weekly paper at the time, indicates a substantial number of Chinese also mined or worked in Sumpter, now mostly abandoned.

John Day and Baker City also hosted "Chinatowns." In John Day this was a block-long section that included a store and worshiping temple that today is memorialized as the Kam Wah Chung State Historical Park.

Not much other evidence remains of the Chinese who played so large a part in the economy of early Eastern Oregon. Most of them left with the depletion of the mines and the torrent of anti-Chinese feeling that inundated the West in the mid-1880s.

Some may have moved to other states--rich strikes had also been made in Idaho and Washington. Others may have made their way to Portland, which for two decades had served as a transit point for Chinese entering or leaving Oregon. In just one month in 1868, for example, six ships arrived with 1,995 Chinese immigrants.[6] There was protection in numbers, and later, with the depletion of the mines, there also were alternative opportunities such as railroad building. The Portland spur of the Central Pacific Railroad was completed almost exclusively with Chinese labor, which caused the Chinese population of The Dalles, Ore., to soar to almost 1,200 briefly in the early 1880s. Chinese also helped lay tracks for the Oregon and California line.

Although the Portland area's Chinese population grew, it never reached the proportions seen in Clatsop County (47.2 percent in 1880); Grant County (41.6 percent in 1870); or Baker County (24.2 percent in 1870).

Other Chinese, having made a small fortune--at least by 1870s standards--may have returned home. Census statistics show that between

1882 and 1890 a total of 117,286 Chinese left the United States. In those years 80,106 Chinese arrived, for a net decrease of 37,180.[7]

Those who congregated in Portland may have found their way into the salmon-canning industry, which reached its economic high-tide the same time that mining began to decline. Most of the canneries used contract labor directly from San Francisco or Hong Kong--port listings in The Daily Astorian newspaper in 1876 and 1877 reveal arrivals from Hong Kong or Shanghai, China, almost weekly, with some ships carrying hundreds of Chinese. However, some contractors also filled their crews in Portland.

In Oregon the largest salmon-processing city was Astoria, which boasted of 14 canneries by 1880.[8] Smaller concentrations of plants were located at Westport, Portland, Rooster Rock The Dalles and Florence.

Most of the 1,639 Chinese in Astoria's canneries lived in bunkhouses directly behind waterfront processing plants. The town itself also supported hundreds of Chinese entrepreneurs. Indeed, there were more than 400 Chinese merchants, restaurateurs, tailors, pawnbrokers, barbers, clothiers, gardeners and laundrymen in the city, according to Chris Friday's account of Asians in Astoria's canneries.[9] Later, a second group of plants, also with Chinese workers, opened a mile inland.

Hours at the canneries were long; rewards meager. Friday writes that pay for the Chinese--even those who had worked their way up to the most important occupations of butchering and can testing--was lower than the $36 a month that railroad workers earned. Meals were served in a common mess hall, but contractors who did the hiring were responsible for supplying provisions and hiring cooks. Protein frequently consisted only of scraps from the production lines. To supplement their diets, it wasn't uncommon for workers to maintain vegetable gardens and catch shellfish in their spare time. Often the gardens were operated by the contractor for a profit.

Life in Astoria, with its many distractions and entertainment possibilities, was undoubtedly better than at rural plants where conditions were more primitive. In Astoria, as in the rest of Oregon and indeed, the nation, nearly 100 percent of the Chinese were male.[10] Many of those who arrived during the initial wave had planned to make a quick fortune and return home to marry. Others, who already had families, came to the United States in an attempt to better support them. Chinese women were prohibited from entering the United States after 1882, so for those not already attached, life could be quite lonely.

The result was a Chinese population that, unable to regenerate, plummeted until by 1930, only 164 remained in Clatsop County, and only 11 in Grant County. In Multnomah County, only 1,471 remained out of a total population of 338,241.

The biggest restrictions on the Chinese, however, were not cultural. For wherever they worked, whether in rural plants or in city canneries, they faced a wall of racial bias.

"The prejudice of European American residents, added to the canners' placement of bunkhouses," writes Friday, "severely restricted Chinese settlement patterns. Indeed, the editor of the Weekly Astorian newspaper on May 23, 1879, wrote that " ... we cannot possibly colonize the Chinese in any one place in the city, but it should be done if possible ..."[11]

Friday and newspapers of the period agree that anti-Chinese fervor in Astoria and other Oregon communities was more muted than in other parts of the Northwest. There was an Anti-Chinese Society in Astoria to which many leading citizens there belonged. But there was a marked absence of violence. This may have been because even the most ardent chinophobes realized the town's canneries could not operate without the Chinese.

Thus, the Chinese in Astoria, as in other parts of the state, were viewed as not much more than a necessary evil.

It is against this backdrop that the stage is set for an examination of the coverage four early Oregon newspapers gave to their local Chinese populations. Findings will show that the community papers in Grant County, Baker City, Astoria and Jacksonville reflected the biases of the white populations.

On a few occasions, some even choreographed anti-Chinese sentiment and activities.

Frontier Oregon

Newspaper coverage of the Chinese in frontier Oregon was skimpy, at best. When it did occur these immigrants were anonymous, faceless, and portrayed as sub-human, at least as far as the press was concerned. With a few exceptions newspapers of the period did not refer to them by name. They were simply "Chinamen," "John Chinaman" or "celestials."[12]

In some cases more derogatory terms such as "pigtails" or "celestial brutes" were employed. The Morning Oregonian in 1865 had referred to Oregon's newly arrived Chinese as "filthy and abominable," and a year later called them "long-tailed, moon-eyed nuisances" and "filthy rats."[13]

According to Wynne, the paper with editor Harvey Scott at its helm was ardently chinophobic until 1867. Wynne writes that when Californians began a "fierce anti-Chinese campaign the Morning Oregonian realized that the employers of Chinese belonged to both political parties; the Democrats insisted that only Republicans did such wicked things. Next, the editor discovered that white labor was not available for domestic service or for railroad construction, the latter problem occupying the minds of Oregonians very much just then.

"Slowly," Wynne writes, "the great newspaper began to look at the Chinese less contemptuously and defended the proposed use of Chinese labor by the Oswego Iron Company a few miles up the Willamette River. The editor now explained that the company had to compete with Eastern

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firms that used pauper labor which, presumably, was only a step removed from coolie labor."[14]

The Morning Oregonian was not among the papers studied because Portland's Chinese population was more transitory and smaller than in towns such as Astoria. But the degree of invective it used was a good example of the extent of the anti-Chinese fervor in Oregon during the period.

Headlines in the 1870s and 1880s were usually nothing more than upper-case letters on the first line of a story, and frequently were used to editorialize. In one blatant example the words "Good Chinamen" were used for two April 26, 1882, Baker City stories about incidents in which two Chinese were killed and one injured.

Similarly, opinion and fact were often blended. When Chinese miners were involved in an accident, for example, papers, if they reported the incident at all, would frequently conclude with comments such as "It's a pity they were only injured."

Previous literature has shown that historians disagree on the reasons the Chinese were so poorly treated, and that none apparently explored whether this vilification was intentional. Reasons and intent however, seem less important than the fact that omission of the Chinese erased an important part of Oregon's history.

It was not until well after World War II that a new group of Chinese immigrants was able to parlay educational advances into improved coverage. Even then, coverage and amount of bias were uneven. As late as 1963, for example, The Oregonian used the word "celestial" in a banner headline.

But whatever else can be said, during the 19th century the papers in Canyon City, Baker City, Astoria and Jacksonville shared one attribute--they shunned the Chinese. Degree of anti-Chinese sentiment, rather than difference, was what separated their coverage when indeed it did occur.

The Oregon Sentinel

The Oregon Sentinel in Jacksonville, a weekly, provided only sparse coverage of the Chinese who immigrated to Southern Oregon in the 1860s even though those immigrants comprised as much as 18 percent of the population of Josephine and Jackson counties.[15]

Only 14 stories concerning the Chinese population appeared in the paper during the years 1866-1870. But the Sentinel would finish No. 1 if vehemence of anti-Chinese rhetoric rather than volume of coverage were measured.

Some items demonstrated the paper's strong anti-Chinese stance by mocking their subjects. For example, a Feb. 24, 1866, story reported that a "near relation of the Sun and Moon," after experiencing language difficulties at the telegraph office, left with a poor impression of the "Mellican." Stories employed such a tone even when the subject was a serious one. On April 7 of that year, the lead-in "Damaged Celestial" was used to introduce a story describing a Chinese who drank camphor after being jailed for tax evasion. Yet a third example occurred Feb. 29, 1868. That report told of how a Chinese called at a local household asking if a "cookee" were needed. The answer was "No," but the inquirer apparently stole $80 before departing.

The most blatant example of the paper's anti-Chinese sentiments occurred May 23, 1868, in a local editorial. The paper agreed with the Democrats' opposition to the Chinese, and declared that "Nothing could so much damage and degrade the labor interests of Oregon as the introduction of those yellow vermin."

Other stories on Feb. 8, 1868, and Feb. 22, 1868, reported on Chinese involved in a robbery and an assault. In an item involving the latter, a Chinese convicted of burglary was reported to have carefully sculpted a handle into a heavy piece of wood, which he then used to club a cellmate on the head. In addition, an item on March 3, 1866, in which the editor admitted forgetting to report three Chinese had drowned in Cow Creek "three weeks ago" suggested that the Chinese weren't considered part of the community.

Three stories of the 14 in the sample were relatively "neutral." In other words, Chinese were portrayed doing things other people would normally do. The first example occurred on Jan. 27, 1866, when readers were informed that area Chinese had converged on the town for a ceremony that was "mysterious and unintelligible enough to the uninitiated to belong to the mysteries of the ancient Greek." However, in an apparent contradiction, the story concluded by reporting that the ceremony "very much resembled an auction sale." One could assume from the date that this event marked the Chinese New Year. But the story didn't say.

Then, on Feb. 8 of that year, a matter-of-factly written item indicated a local Chinese had a broken leg set by a Dr. Greenman. It's unknown whether it would have been unusual for a Chinese resident to visit a Caucasian doctor in Jacksonville in 1868. However, the story would seem to indicate that at that time the Chinese were still a curiosity. The paper did not, for example, report the setting of Caucasian patients' broken legs.

Finally, on Feb. 27, 1870, the paper noted that area Chinese often flew kites in their leisure time, and were highly skilled at the practice.

Grant County

Grant County hosted three weekly papers--the Grant County Express, Grant County Times and Grant County News.

The first two were short-lived. The Express published for two weeks, March 18 and 25, 1876, and the Times only on March 26, 1877, after which the News took over.

The first two papers' brief lives were not surprising. Frontier editors, like prospectors, went wherever the "gold" was. And if the gold became more plentiful elsewhere, the editor left along with his press.

What was surprising was that between 1876 and 1884, the years during which the county's papers were studied, there were only five stories about the Chinese in Eastern Oregon. In 1870 a total of 940 of Grant County's population of 2,251, or 41.6 percent, were Chinese. In 1880, the numbers were 905 out of 3,384, or 26.6 percent. It would have been expected that with such statistics a far larger number of the names in the three papers would have been Chinese. Instead, the Chinese were rarely mentioned.

Perhaps the invisibility of Grant County's Chinese could account for the unusually low number. Many mined in outlying towns such as Granite or prospected in other rural areas. In addition, the county's papers did not publish continuously, resulting in fewer stories. But even in view of this five in eight years would be an amazingly low number.

When the Chinese did make it into Grant County's papers they were cast in a negative light and remained unnamed. For example, the Grant County Express on March 18, 1876, published a story with the lead-in, "Gold Watch Found." It became clear that Mr. E.E. Turk, a local resident, lost a "valuable gold watch three years ago." The watch was found, according to the story, in the possession of a "Chinaman" who was "slow to part with it." But in the end it was recovered through some unspecified means.

In another flagrant case of anti-Chinese editorializing, the lead-in "Well-Planted" was chosen for a May 26, 1877, Grant County Times story about a Chinese miner buried alive in a cave-in at Sumpter.

The tone of stories sometimes varied with the paper. The March 25, 1876, Grant County Express, for example, reported two Chinese renting a mine from a white, and on March 6, 1884, the Grant County Times matter-of-factly reported the funeral of a Chinese resident of John Day. The deceased, however, was not identified.

In perhaps the most absurd example, a story in the April 24, 1884, Grant County Times reported that a Chinese laundry had burned to the ground in Canyon City. The story focused on the fire department's quick work but said nothing else about the laundry. Who was the owner? Was he injured? What was the amount of property loss? The story gave no clues to the answers to these questions. Curiously, the fire department was enthusiastically congratulated for its efficiency.

Bedrock Democrat

Baker City's four-page weekly, the Bedrock Democrat, provided generally negative coverage of the Chinese just as its Grant County counterparts did. However, it also contained the largest number of "positive" or "neutral" stories of the four papers in the study. But the number probably remains insignificant if the length of the sample period and Baker City's Chinese population (680, or 24.2 percent in

1870 and 787, or 20.5 percent in 1880) are taken into account.

In seven four-month periods from 1873 to 1882, the Democrat contained 23 stories about local Chinese, six of which were "neutral" or even slightly "positive." On Jan. 28, 1874, for example, a story matter-of-factly reported that a Chinese store at Mormon Basin had been robbed. However, it also indicated that opium was taken. This was followed on April 8, 1874, by another matter-of-factly written story that reported the discovery of gold in Connor Creek by Chinese prospectors and by two other mining stories in 1878.

The first, on Feb. 13, 1878, reported that the Griffin's Gulch mine eight miles west of Baker City was now owned by Chinese, and yielded $5 per day. Griffin's Gulch was where gold was discovered in Baker County in 1861. The second, two weeks later on Feb. 27, 1878, was a summary of county mining activity that mentioned Chinese ownership.

Four years later, on Feb. 22, 1882, an item in the "Bedrock Nuggets," the paper's local-briefs column, indicated that Chinese in the town had begun to celebrate Chinese New Year. A second reported that the Chinese ushered in the new year with "the firing of fire crackers, offerings to the spirits, lancantations, prayers etc. A Chinaman informed us that their festivities continued as long as their money lasted." Though the stories did not openly attack the Chinese, reference to the "spirits" and celebrating until funds were exhausted made them appear mysterious and foolish.

The only story in which the name of a Chinese was used was on

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April 24, 1874, when the Bedrock Democrat reported that Gee Sing, a local merchant, had died and left what was in those days a princely sum of $2,000 to his wife.

The Bedrock Democrat did, however, print its share of stories that whether by design or not, reinforced a negative image of the Chinese. One such example on Jan. 14, 1880, told of two Chinese who snuck into a hotel room without paying. In a similar vein, the paper reported on March 10, 1880, that the marshal was "making it red hot" for Chinese evading the city's laundry tax by throwing them in jail.

Another in the March 31, 1880, paper told of a La Grande resident's Chinese servant. But a bold headline above the story read, "Mac and His Pet Chinaman," which made the Chinese sound like a dog or other household animal. That was followed on April 28, 1880, by a report of a new gambling game in Baker City's Chinatown that attracted the "heathens."

Like the papers in Jacksonville and Grant County, the Bedrock Democrat also launched direct assaults on the Chinese. On March 17, 1880, it included in its news section an editorial stating that "It is a pity that low fares to the East could not have been kept a little longer so that the Mongolians could have a chance to exit." Stronger language had been used on April 5, 1876, to report a shooting incident at Auburn between two Chinese, neither of whom was injured. The story concluded: "Unfortunately, they both escaped with their lives."

The Daily Astorian

Demographics seem to dictate that Astoria's daily paper, one of the state's first, should have taken the lead in covering the town's Chinese. After all, in 1880 a total of 2,317--or 47.2 percent--of Clatsop County's residents were Chinese. And unlike Grant, Baker and Jackson counties, where the Chinese population was scattered, Clatsop County's Chinese were concentrated in Astoria.

So a substantial number of names in the paper should have been Chinese. But the 108 issues sampled between 1876 and 1877 contained only 22 stories about local Chinese. In addition, not once was a Chinese resident named except on Aug. 14, 1877, in the Circuit Court docket published in the paper and on Aug. 29, 1877, when judgments in two lawsuits and verdicts in three criminal cases were listed.

In Hop Chung v. Chung Hong, the lawsuit was dismissed with the defendant paying court costs. Wong Sam v. Chin Ah Ung, on the other hand, resulted in a judgment for the defendants with costs being paid by the plaintiff. In the criminal case State v. Chung Sing and nine others, charged with assault with a deadly weapon, Sing You was found guilty and fined $50 and costs. There was no mention of the fate of the other defendants, however. State v. Chung Ah Yem was dismissed on motion of the prosecutor, and State v. Chin Wot resulted in a hung jury.

One other listing, Louis Park v. Chung Hong, deserves mention because the parties were ordered to give testimony to O.F. Bell, who according to the June 9, 1876, paper had been elected vice president of the city's Anti-Chinese Society.[16]

For the most part The Daily Astorian, a six-day-a-week daily that published Tuesday through Sunday, treated the town's Chinese as if they didn't exist. Though they were an integral part of the town's economy, they were frequently blamed for all of Astoria's economic ills. Indeed, on May 3, 1876, an editorial declared that the Chinese " ... pauperize white people wherever they go."

More frequently, the paper made efforts to make them seem unintelligent or dishonest, or mock them. On May 8, 1876, for example, a story reported that a new machine at Booth's Cannery could attach labels at a rate of 1,000 per hour. The last sentence of the story read, "Apropos the imitative genius of the Chinaman, it was curious to note how readily a heathen mastered the intricacies of this really complicated machine." The implication apparently was that the Chinese could imitate, but not think. Just short of two weeks later, on May 20, 1876, the paper reported that "Two heathenish celestial brutes had been jailed for a "shameful and intolerable nuisance in open day time." However, it did not describe what this "nuisance" was. In another story that focused on illegal activities, the town deputy marshal was reported on June 22, 1877, to have escorted two Chinese to Portland, presumably to jail, for selling whisky without a license.

Stories about how to deal with Chinese were also frequently seen.

On May 16, 1876, for example, residents were advised to use "red hot pokers, cayenne pepper and clubs" if Chinese workers went on strike.

But just a month later, on June 14, the paper issued an apparently contradictory editorial when it cautioned Astorians to restrict themselves to non-violent methods when expelling Chinese, "... lest men of clear minds with pure purposes are made to appear in a role not at all suited to their cause."

Chinese were also reported to be inept at simple tasks such as transporting wood (Aug. 2, 1877); and a Chinese with a cut was reported to have been treated by a doctor using a "garden hose" (Aug. 10, 1877).

Most of the other stories concerned incidents such as strikes or accidents. For example, the May 4, 1876, paper reported that Chinese at the Booth's and Badollett canneries had refused to work without a $2 a month increase, but abandoned their strike after just a few hours. And a Chinese at Kinney's was reported on June 22, 1877, to have lost "one or two fingers" to a tin-cutting machine.

Thus, it seemed odd that on July 17, 1877, The Daily Astorian reported that J.N. Armstrong, a prominent resident, invited the town's elite to admire a collection of Oriental art he had just brought back from Peking.

Two of the only mildly "neutral" stories were on June 12, 1876, and July 6, 1877, about the opening of a Chinese lodge and the takeover by Chinese of a slaughterhouse. But some bias was apparent even in these. The lodge item referred to the founder as a "white-haired descendant of Confucius." The other story reported that a "gang" of Chinese were operating what once was the Bergman and Berry facility, but that they made "a great deal more stink."

The paper contained dozens of stories about meetings of other fraternal organizations. These usually included details of the business transacted and the members who attended.

The Missing Link

Aside from coverage of routine news, two events occurred that were sufficiently cataclysmic and close enough to the Astoria and Baker City-Canyon City areas that they should have received major coverage from the papers in those cities.[17]

These were the exclusion of Chinese from Seattle and Tacoma in the fall of 1885 and the Snake River massacre on the Oregon-Idaho border in June 1887.

As many as 3,000 Puget Sound-area Chinese had sought refuge in Astoria starting in October 1885.[18] That would have meant about 5,300 Chinese in Clatsop County, mainly in Astoria, to about 2,500 whites, a frightful scenario for a county that blamed the Chinese for all of its economic ills.

Yet between Sept. 1, 1885, and Feb. 20, 1886, The Daily Astorian printed only one paragraph, on Oct. 16, about the flood of refugees while at the same time using 20 stories about region-wide anti-Chinese meetings and firings of Chinese, and departures of Chinese on Pacific steamers. It would be difficult to believe the paper didn't know Chinese were streaming into the city. It seems more likely, at least in this case, that the omission was intentional. Perhaps the paper hoped that if ignored, this "problem" would go away.

In the second event seven whites attacked a camp at Log Cabin Bar on the Snake River, murdered 10 Chinese miners, and stole about $10,000 in gold dust. Four of the seven were ultimately arrested; one died in jail. The three who remained in custody were tried beginning May 15, 1888, and found not guilty on Sept. 1. The trial took place in Baker City.

It would have been expected that because of the depth of anti-Chinese feeling, the relevance of mining to the Canyon City area, and its proximity to the trial site, the Grant County News would have at least mentioned the start of the proceedings or their result. But between May 15 and July 26, 1888, it uttered not a word on the topic.

Distance apparently could not have been a reason for the omission. In the 10 weeks after the start of the trial, pages of the News contained, among others, stories about a circus in Baker City; a man convicted in Pendleton for biting off another's nose in a bar room brawl; and a man who was hanged in Portland for murdering and dismembering his stepdaughter.

And during the month following the acquittal the paper printed several stories from Baker City and other distant parts of the state.

Subjects included the return of the Grant County clerk from Baker City; a "disastrous fire" there the week of Sept. 6; and the beginning of the rebuilding process. There was also an item indicating that 500 patients now resided at the state mental hospital in Salem.

The most telling evidence occurred on July 12, 1888, when the paper reported the gunshot killing of a white miner on the Snake River. Apparently, the killing of a white miner was more important "news" than the trial of suspects in the robbery and killing of 10 Chinese miners.

Issues of the Bedrock Democrat were not available for the months following the murders or the trial. However, another paper, the Baker County Reveille, was available for the six weeks after the murders.

The Reveille reported the incident on June 29, which would not be considered an unreasonable delay considering the fact that Baker City is 75 miles from the Oregon-Idaho border. But the initial report appeared as part of a story that a team of Chinese investigators had been dispatched from San Francisco to track down the killers.

This indirect dissemination of news would seem to suggest that the murders, though they did not make it into the papers, were common knowledge in Baker City.

Discussion

The most striking common characteristic of these four papers' coverage of local Chinese was its absence. In addition to the extremely low number of stories when population is taken into consideration, none of the papers included Chinese in listings of births, marriages and deaths, and society news.[19]

Frontier papers served as a social archive, providing a record of the culture and history of a town for future generations. If a town had no paper, or had one that ignored a segment of the population, it would be more difficult to record that segment's history and heritage. The June 12, 1876, Daily Astorian lodge-opening story, for example, did not describe what kind of organization was started, who could join, where the group met, or even the name of the "white-haired descendant of Confucius."

Similarly, ads for the Chinese physician Ah Moo appeared weekly in the Bedrock Democrat from January 1880 to March 1882, along with two reports that the doctor had cured Caucasian patients of blood poisoning and diptheria. Little else is known about Ah Moo except that he was in Baker City about two years and cured at least two patients. But what was his position in the community? That information is lost forever.

So also is the heritage of one-fourth of 1870s and 1880s Baker County.

It seems unlikely, despite the anti-Chinese hysteria of the 1870s and 1880s, that editors made a conscious effort to exclude the Chinese from their newspapers and cities. However, a number of factors could account for the way these early newspapers treated the Chinese.

The first and most obvious is racial bias. Bias was, indeed, undoubtedly present because in the late 19th century society itself was racist. Evidence of anti-Chinese bias was seen in the press and in society in the form of discriminatory laws. Historian Robert Edward Wynne, for example mentioned bias in Jackson County mining laws. More recently, Portland State University professor Charles A. Tracy took a look at discriminatory laws and selective enforcement in Portland, Ore., that resulted in the arrests of a disproportionately large number of Chinese.[20] But this alone would not explain why early papers shunned the Chinese. For as Wynne wrote, at least some editors initially welcomed the new immigrants.[21]

Far more likely is that the papers turned on the Chinese because of a combination of reasons, as Wynne and authors Stuart Creighton Miller, Ronald Takaki, Shih-Shan Henry Tsai and Sucheng Chan suggested.[22] They seem to agree that the economic declines of the 1880s, exacerbated by racism and strange appearance and customs, turned the white population against the Chinese.

In addition, there are four factors they did not touch on but which would be integral to a study of the relationship between newspapers and immigrants.

The first and most important is that, as Gaye Tuchman and later Richard Lentz wrote, editors (and for that matter anyone else) tend to move in social circles in which they feel most comfortable.[23] In frontier Oregon, newspaper editors and publishers were usually among a town's most prominent citizens. Bedrock Democrat publisher J.M. Shepherd, for example, was a Baker City lawyer who served as a delegate to state political conventions. It would appear that because editors and publishers in Jacksonville, Canyon City, Baker City and Astoria were among their towns' "movers and shakers," they felt more comfortable associating with, and reporting the affairs of other movers and shakers.

On the other hand, Chinese miners or cannery workers may also have felt more at ease with other Chinese. They came to the United States as sojourners, hoping to make a small fortune and in a few years return home wealthy by Chinese, if not American standards. As such, they may not have cared that newspapers of the period ignored them. In addition, their inability to speak English and thus, communicate, and their different appearance were undoubtedly factors in the sparse attention they received.

The finding that the Chinese were rarely mentioned, even though surprising, was not inconsistent with what Chilton R. Bush and R.K. Bullock found in 1952. Their study of two San Francisco-area daily papers revealed that the names of people in different occupations do not appear in the news in the same proportions as their distribution in the population.[24] Thus, politicians were much more likely to make it onto news columns than plumbers. The Chinese in early Oregon, it should be remembered, were almost all laborers and servants.

The problem of focusing on whether silence is intentional, and thus "strategic," Lentz writes, is that doing so may "... miss the larger point cited by Monica B. Morris when discussing the lack of coverage of the women's liberation movement during its early days. The absence of stories could not, she said, 'lightly be construed as a deliberate and calculated strategy of social control' ... Nonetheless, ... the result of lack of coverage would be much the same as if it were a deliberate strategy: the movement would remain unknown to the general public; it would be prevented from becoming news."[25]

And finally, "Chinese bashing" seems to have been popular 110 years ago. The movement toward fairness--if not objectivity--in journalism did not begin until decades later, and there certainly wasn't pressure to diversify newsrooms and along with them coverage, in the 1870s and 1880s.

Frontier news staffs frequently consisted of only one--the editor --and his political leanings also became the paper's.

NOTES

1. Robert Edward Wynne, Reaction to the Chinese in the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia 1850-1910 (New York: Arno Press, 1978), 43.

2. Wynne, 43.

3. Wynne, 44. However, apparently the mines in Josephine County were depleted quickly, and the Chinese population there was transitory. The Ninth Census of the United States shows that 634 Chinese lived in Jackson County, but only 223 remained in Josephine County in

1870. This may have reflected the fact that larger gold strikes had been made in Northeast Oregon.

4. Wynne, 44; from V. Blue, "The Mining Laws of Jackson County," Oregon Historical Quarterly, 23 (1922).

5. Wynne, 45.

6. Port listings show that in August 1868 the Jeanne Alice arrived from Hong Kong with 430 Chinese. She was followed shortly by the Edward James with 380, the Garibaldi with 210, the Alden Besse with 180, the Forward with 330 and the Manila with 425. These immigrants probably did not remain in Portland for very long. The Ninth Census of the United States in 1870 showed only 508 Chinese in the city. The situation changed along with conditions in other parts of the state, however. The Eleventh Census of the United States showed that the Chinese population of Portland snowballed to 5,184 by 1890, whereas the number of Chinese in Eastern Oregon dropped precipitously. Only 326 remained in Grant County, and only 398 in Baker County. In Jackson County, there were only 224 Chinese in 1890.

7. Shih-Shan Henry Tsai, The Chinese Experience in America (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1986), 194; from the Bureau of Census.

8. Chris Friday, Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942 (Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press, 1994), 56.

9. Friday, 57.

10. Fewer than 9,000 Chinese females entered the U.S. mainland between 1852 and the enactment of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Law, according to Sucheng Chan, Asian Americans: An Interpretive History (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 104. Chan estimates that during that 30-year period there were never more than 5,000 Chinese women in what are now the 48 contiguous states at any one time.

11. Friday, 57; from May 23, 1879, Weekly Astorian.

12. The term "celestial" apparently came into use because the Emperor of China was said by the Chinese to be the "Son of Heaven." It is considered to be derogatory and was used to mock the Chinese in the early days.

13. Wynne, 66; and Morning Oregonian, Feb. 17, 1865, and July 10, 1865.

14. Wynne, 67; and Morning Oregonian, March 6, 1867 and April 10, 1867.

15. The Ninth Census of the United States, 3, indicated that in 1870 a total of 18.1 percent of the population of Josephine County and 13 percent of the population of Jackson County was Chinese.

16. The Daily Astorian, June 9, 1876.

17. According to Richard Lentz, "The Search for Strategic Silence," American Journalism (Winter 1991), 13, "Locating instances of strategic silence may be accomplished by reasoning from the visibility of the actors; the nature or circumstances of the event; the availability of knowledge to the writer or editor; deviations from journalistic prac-

tices; and the characteristics of medium, genre, or particular media organization." An example of this silence, he writes, was Newsweek neglecting to mention that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was present when President Johnson signed the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

18. According To Friday, 58, Astoria became a safe-haven because anti-Chinese feeling there never turned violent, as it did in numerous other cities in the West. He quotes the Weekly Astorian as saying on Feb. 13, 1886, that the town became "a sort of jumping off place ... and they congregate here in the same fashion and for about the same reason that they cluster in San Francisco--because they are driven off elsewhere and have no place else to go." Further, many Astorians probably refrained from anti-Chinese activities because they feared the laborers might abandon the canneries, causing the collapse of the local economy.

19. Exclusion laws and the "sojourner" status of early Chinese immigrants meant that most of frontier Oregon's Chinese were single males. However, that would not explain their almost total absence from news of record and society columns.

20. Charles A. Tracy, "Race, Crime and Social Policy: The Chinese in Oregon, 1871-1885," Crime and Social Justice, (Winter 1980) 11. Tracy found that as a result of these laws, arrests of Chinese for "victimless" crimes such as prostitution, opium smoking and too many people in not enough space were as much as 10 times higher than for whites. It is unclear whether this adversely affected the image of the

Chinese because the Chinese were excluded from newspapers. Thus, the arrests did not become public knowledge.

21. Wynne, iv.

22. Stuart Creighton Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of The Chinese, 1785-1882* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1969); Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1989); Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991); Shih-Shan Henry Tsai, *The Chinese Experience in America* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1986).

23. Gaye Tuchman said in *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (New York: Free Press, 1978), 138, that news events must "resonate" with a reporter's experiences. More recently, Lentz in "The Search for Strategic Silence," *American Journalism*, (1991) 10, wrote that "The version of reality ... relies upon the production of meanings based not only upon published content but upon ways in which some things are not 'seen,' or if seen, not recorded ..." He continued that "Intention may not always explain the reason for editorial silence. ... Silence may reflect not the journal's (or reporter's) intention so much as the power of ideology, customs, traditions, and mores in force at a given time."

24. Chilton R. Bush, R.K. Bullock, "Names in the News: a study of two dailies," *Journalism Quarterly*, 29 (Spring 1952) 150, 151.

25. Lentz, 12; and Monica B. Morris, "Newspapers and the New Femi-

nists: Black Out as Social Control?" Journalism Quarterly, 50 (Spring 1973) 42.

"Womanliness is an attribute not a condition": Conceptions of Civic Womanhood in the Woman's Era, 1894-1897

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"Womanliness is an attribute not a condition": Conceptions of Civic Womanhood in the Woman's Era, 1894-1897

In the decades following the Civil War, and continuing through the turn of the twentieth century, massive social and political change forced women to reconceptualize their roles in public and civic life. Beginning in Seneca Falls in 1848, American women stressed the importance of their involvement in political affairs as full-fledged citizens. Challenging prevailing notions of true womanhood, which limited women's influence to the private sphere, women became committed to social concerns and formed public organizations as they fought for political enfranchisement.[1]

Coincident with their increased public activity, women founded, published and edited an unprecedented number of publications that were tailored to their specific interests and involvements. Never before or since has there been such a flurry of publishing activity. Politically aware, educated women who were excluded or misrepresented in mainstream publications, began newspapers and magazines designed to inform, mobilize, and inspire their readers regarding women's nascent civic involvement. As the history of journalism continues to be written, these publications need to be inserted into the body of journalism scholarship and examined for their role in forming and/or reinforcing notions of women's public identity.

This paper examines content in the *Woman's Era*, a publication for African American women, published in Boston, Mass., and distributed nationally from 1894 until at least 1897, to discern its constructions of women's citizenship. Such an examination assists the wider investigation and fuller understanding of how media contribute to prevailing notions and ideas held within society. Moreover, examination of publications for particular groups may provide insight regarding the race and class dimensions of certain constructions. For this specific study, because the *Woman's Era* was written for and by African American women with stated political or social service inclinations (as members of the National Association of Colored Women), it provides the necessary material for an analysis of the constructions of women's citizenship and how these interfaced with, influenced, or were influenced by, aspects of race and class realities. In this way, it may further our understanding of the role of the women's press toward the creation and maintenance of the ideology of women's citizenship.

Questions regarding social constructions of identity, the relationship of media and culture, and the formation of ideology, may be examined within the theoretical framework of cultural studies. Within this framework, it is supposed that media are not merely carriers of ideology that manipulate and indoctrinate; rather, they shape people's very ideas of themselves and the world.[2] A key concept in this exploration is Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony – the process whereby a cultural 'common sense' is produced.[3] Hegemony is manifest in the general notions people of any culture have about the way things should be; it is a dominant world-view, usually culturally expressed and discursively articulated. Gramsci considered the press a "prominent and dynamic part" of how ideological hegemony is achieved when ideology is defined – as it is for this study – as a set of ideas and beliefs that reproduce a particular social order or construction.[4] Similarly, Stuart Hall has written that "the mass media are more and more responsible for providing the basis on which groups and classes construct an 'image' of the lives, meanings, practices and values [that] can be coherently grasped as a 'whole'."[5] This construction of what Hall refers to as "social knowledge" or "social imagery" occurs within a mass-mediated cultural sphere. The *Woman's Era* sought to convey to women this social knowledge in a way the mainstream media and the publications published by African American men did not.[6] Although this was not a mass-produced publication, it was the first national publication for African American women, and thus provides a unique opportunity to analyze the ideology of women's citizenship propagated and promoted through its pages.

Considerations of ideological hegemony must take into account the dimensions of race and class, as well as gender. The social construction of women's citizenship is an ideology that promotes particular interests based on class and race. This assumption is based on Raymond Williams' observation that ideology is a reflection of particular class interests.[7] Considered here is how the ideology of women's citizenship was informed not only by class relations, but also by race relations, reproducing what Hall terms a "structure in dominance."[8] Using gender, race, and class as tools of analysis assists in uncovering relations of dominance. As the notion of women's citizenship was being formed, defined, and debated, how did different groups achieve dominance? What other voices and perspectives were silenced?

Historian Gerda Lerner offers a perspective on the intricacies of gender, race, and class, and how attitudes of sexism, racism, or classism are interdependently used to reinforce a system of oppression or dominance. Within the system Lerner describes, any group may exhibit attitudes that serve to establish their dominance over another group. In her example, white, upper-class males exert dominance over other groups through systems that perpetuate sexism, racism and classism, while African American, lower-class males may exert dominance over women through attitudes of sexism, and white, upper-class women may exert dominance over African American men through attitudes of racism, and so on. The interrelated nature of sexism, classism, and racism ultimately serves and perpetuates a society based on exploitation and dominance. As Lerner writes, "race, class, and gender oppression are inseparable, they construct, reinforce, and support one another."[9]

Historically, we should not assume, however, that women represented a monolithic segment of an oppressed or marginalized group, for within this group, there were divisions, conflicts, and negotiations that both replicate and create the entire social fabric of exploitation and domination. In considering the hegemonical construction of women's citizenship, the ideology that promotes particular interests based on race and class must be uncovered.

The women's movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as the publications created to support the movement and its various faces, needs to be reconsidered in terms of these race/class distinctions. Women's publications on the whole, and African American women publications in particular, have received limited attention in journalism scholarship. Most studies are descriptive treatments of the content, structure, and functions of these periodicals, with little or no attention to the ideological dimension of the content.[10] While elements of race or class may have been noted in these studies, such analyses are not situated within the larger framework that assumes the construction of ideologies (in this case the ideology of women's citizenship) informed by differences in race and class. This study situates the *Woman's Era* as a formative force in the conceptualization of women's civic identity, specifically addressing relations of race and class oppression or domination. Such distinctions lead to a more holistic analysis and understanding not only of women's publications, but also of media influences and phenomena in general. Specific research questions are listed below, but first, it is necessary to provide the context in which the *Woman's Era* was published.

Woman's Era and the National Association of Colored Women

The *Woman's Era* was founded, published, and edited by Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, a member of Boston's African American elite. Ruffin's mother was white, a native of Cornwall, England, and her dark-skinned father, a prominent and wealthy Boston clothier, was of mixed ancestry. The light-skinned Ruffin married in 1858, at age 15, to George Lewis Ruffin, also of Boston's elite. George Ruffin was the first African American to graduate from Harvard Law School. He served in the Massachusetts State Legislature and was the first African American judge in the North, appointed to serve the municipal court of Charlestown.[11]

Josephine Ruffin's wealthy existence was apparently not a sheltered existence, however. She was aware of suffering and need, and used her resources and talents to engage in relief efforts. She assisted soldiers during the Civil War with the Sanitary Commission; in 1879, she helped establish a relief effort to provide clothing and money for Southern blacks relocating to Kansas, and in 1889, offered the help of Northern African American women to assist the Georgia Educational League for Southern children.[12] In 1893, she continued her involvement in civic and social affairs by founding the Woman's Era Club. The Woman's Era Club was among a proliferating number of local groups that, in 1892, would form The Colored Women's League. The League was analogous to the General Federation of Women's Clubs, an organization of white middle and upper-class women who augmented their literary and social pursuits with concern for various social problems.[13] Though clearly a club with elite membership, the Woman's Era Club, along with other African American women's clubs at this time, was devoted to "racial uplift."[14]

Although records indicate that Ruffin may have been publishing the *Woman's Era* locally in Boston from as early as 1890, the first issue, Vol. 1, No. 1, is dated March 24, 1894.[15] Ruffin was the editor, Florida R. Ridley her assistant, and six women and two men were on her editorial staff. According to its masthead, the publication was "the organ of the Woman's Era Club and devoted to the interests of the women's Clubs, Leagues, and Societies throughout the country. . . ." With its national circulation, it is not surprising that when the Federation of Afro-American Women formed in 1895, the *Woman's Era* was chosen as its official organ. One year later, the Federation merged with two other groups to form the National Association of Colored Women, and the Era was retained as its publication.[16]

The National Association of Colored Women (NACW) was not a suffrage organization. Ironically, though African American women were, as a group, considered supportive of a federal suffrage amendment, the National American Woman's Suffrage Association – led by white, middle to upper-class women – discriminated against African American women and discouraged their participation in the movement through the first decade of the twentieth century.[17] Similarly, the General Federation of Women's Clubs (which did not advocate openly for women's suffrage until 1916) failed to fully embrace African American women.[18] Discrimination in white women's organizations, then, may have led African American women to form their own organizations. These organizations were formed for similar reasons as groups of white women – education, enrichment, concern for social problems – but formation may also have been stimulated from a sense of race consciousness.[19]

The clubs that comprised the NACW thus combined their educational and social concerns with a sense of "racial uplift." Although domestic and cultural concerns were predominant in the early years of its formation, the emphasis of these clubs shifted to civic reforms. In addition, and perhaps primarily, they were strongly organized in the effort to combat lynching. Adopting as their motto, "Lifting as we climb," the purposes of the NACW were:

> To secure and enforce civil and political rights for ourselves and our group. To obtain for our colored women the opportunity of reaching the highest standard in all fields of human endeavor. To promote interracial understanding so that justice and goodwill may prevail among all people.[20]

Though similar to the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the stated purposes of the NACW are distinguished in terms of racial awareness and need. These women combined racial awareness, social welfare, and advocacy for greater political and civic involvement in their organization's platform. Thus, as its official organ, the *Woman's Era* should reflect the concerns of these elite, African American women regarding woman's civic role and duties of citizenship and how this is informed by realities of race and class.

Method: Analyzing the Discourse of Citizenship

Content of the *Woman's Era* provides material for a discourse analysis that seeks to uncover the constructions and ideology of women's citizenship, and how this is related to race and class. Discourse analysis is a method that studies not only the text, but also the unspoken underpinnings of that text – that is, it seeks to uncover the codes, constructions, cultural assumptions, connotations, and underpinnings embedded in the text, treated here as the content of the *Woman's Era*. This process involves locating correspondences between a text and social structures and identities, noting recurring patterns in discourse, such as the repetition of certain themes, phrases, rhetoric, and so on.[21]

Significant in terms of locating ideological roots are two ideas presented by Stuart Hall and Michel Foucault. Hall claims that ideological systems of representation may be identified through an analysis of discourse that uncovers an unspoken pre-defined terrain, a "field of meanings."[22] Similarly, Foucault refers to "discursive formations" as arenas for discourse, representing a set of assumed – possibly unconscious – rules regarding what can be written, thought, and acted upon in a particular field.[23] Locating the discursive formation related to women's citizenship – the field of meanings – would thus enable identification of a particular ideology.

According to historians, arguments for women's citizenship revolved around assumptions regarding woman's nature and what she would bring to the polls and accomplish with her vote. These arguments were based on the notions of motherhood, women's moral superiority and altruistic motivations, and the value of equality.[24] To what extent are these arguments based on a vision of white, upper-class ideals? Do positions expressed in the

Woman's Era reflect these same arguments; are they positions that reflect dimensions of race and class? Is the ideology of women's citizenship a race and class-bound ideology?

In order to address these broad questions regarding the ideology of women's citizenship as expressed in the *Woman's Era*, twenty-two extant issues of the publication from March, 1894, until January, 1897, were read to discern the arguments and images regarding woman's social and political identity. Research focused on specific themes reflected in the content, noting whether these themes conformed to the categories of motherhood, altruism, moral superiority, and equality with men, or whether there were additional arguments and constructions related to women's citizenship. References to race and class realities were also specifically noted in order to address the question of whether these differences were acknowledged or articulated. The specific research questions, therefore, were:

1. To what extent does discourse in the *Woman's Era* conform to the four constructions of motherhood, altruism, moral superiority and equality with men?

2. Are there alternative constructions/themes around which African American women defined their citizenship?

3. Were issues of race and class difference acknowledged or articulated?

Since the four predominant constructions, listed in the first question, have been identified by historians and reflect the culture and conditions in late nineteenth-century America, it was expected that they would be present in the *Woman's Era*. Further, racial awareness was expected, as well as attitudes of classism. If, as Lerner suggests, groups maintain particular positions in order to preserve dominance – or resist oppression – it would be expected that upper-class African American women would cling to their class status as the remaining niche from which to resist full-scale oppression under a system that reinforces sexism, racism, and classism. This expectation is also based on Hall's observation that language usage reflects class structures within a capitalist society – that "it will be dependent on the nature of the social relations in which it is embedded, the manner in which its users are socially organized together, [and] the social and material contexts in which it is employed."[25]

Employing discourse analysis and a reading of ideology within the framework of cultural studies accomplishes the main purpose of this study: examining the role of the *Woman's Era* in articulating and defining women's civic identity, and determining to what extent this definition is informed by realities of race and class.

Findings

In general, in response to the questions stated above, the four categories of motherhood, altruism, moral superiority, and equality with men did not constitute content regarding civic identity in the *Woman's Era*. Though arguments occasionally appeared that used these identity categories, the civic identity presented in the *Woman's Era* was more distinctly tied to race and class identity. Moreover, woman's contribution to civic and political life was not defended on the basis of particular qualities of womanhood or what women would accomplish at the polls. Conversely, "womanliness" was defended in and of itself as an attribute. Self-improvement and advancement of one's own causes and concerns were heralded over the use of the ballot to effect improvements in the social welfare of others.

Advocating for greater civic involvement based on woman's equality with man was virtually absent (with a single exception noted below), even though interest and concern over men's affairs was expressed. As the following examples will illustrate, the predominant construction of woman's citizenship in the *Woman's Era* was of an educated, class-conscious woman, concerned with self-advancement as well as the advancement of her race, and worthy of enfranchisement on the basis of her womanliness.

In response to the first question, regarding the use of the four constructions of woman's value as citizen based on the notions of motherhood, altruism, moral superiority and equality with men, there was little that would support the identification of these as components of an ideology of women's citizenship promoted by the *Woman's Era*. When these arguments were used, there were conflicting messages. For instance, if woman's civic value was predicated on a notion of service to others, later in the same article would be the notion of self-interest, self respect and self-protection as benefits and requisites of civic involvement.[26]

Most striking was the relative absence of an assertion of woman's moral superiority as a justification for citizenship. Only occasionally was there reference to "good women."[27] Assertions of African American woman's morality were usually made in defense against charges that African American women were immoral. Ruffin's address to the NACW conference was reprinted in the August, 1895 issue. In it, she referred to the southern women who "have protested against the admission of colored women into any national organization on the ground of the immorality of these women" and defended the NACW as "an army of organized women standing for purity and mental worth."[28] Another article by New York correspondent Victoria Earle, was a similar defense against charges of immorality: “We should realize, and let the world know that we realize it, that America, and the south in particular, owes a deathless bond of gratitude to the now slandered class, that the fair sons and daughters of the south were not corrupted or demoralized during their young and tender years.”[29]

Morality was linked to racial realities – in the cruel, inverted logic of racism, the virtue of African Americans was held suspect because of the sexual transgressions and immorality of white southern men against slave women. African American women could not, then, easily claim moral superiority as a basis for citizenship. Still, the virtue of woman’s nature was occasionally invoked and linked to service to others. Fannie Williams, who wrote about the need for women and men to cooperate in correctional work, asserted that “it should be the mission of woman, with her warmer heart and finer instincts” to care for children in correctional institutions. Further, she linked these virtues to a sense of altruism when she asserted that “women come to the study of these new responsibilities, not with selfish motives . . . but rather with a burning desire to make better the world. . ..”[30] But an editorial by Ruffin in that same issue refuted superiority claims in favor of cooperation between sexes. Criticizing the organization of “plans and schemes for the public good on sex lines,” Ruffin urged instead that men and women work together on worthy causes.[31] In one article by Colorado correspondent Ida de Priest, the “selfishness” of convention delegates in that state was lauded: “Those who think of women voting only in connection with reforms should have visited the convention and have seen the adroit proceedings of the two leading women of the party . . . how they . . . did work . . . for their own personal interests.” Furthermore, referring to arguments for women's civic involvement based on virtue or altruism, De Priest claimed that "too much glimmer has been thrown over the real. Articles have been written from superabundance of self conceit, in which opinions are given instead of facts."[32] These examples reflect the double-edged message of altruism: Women were equipped to care for others, but the African American woman must do all she can to advance herself and her race as well.

Equality with men as a rationale for suffrage or increased civic involvement was also rarely stated. Rather, there were statements that suggested that African American women needed to find their own way and do for themselves. Although cooperation with men was encouraged, as the above example illustrated, there were not assertions that men possessed greater rights that should be extended to women as well. In the only exception noted – an article praising the first woman named to the school board in Washington, DC – Ruffin wrote, "women should indulge and pursue special bent or cultivate a peculiar power as do the men."[33]

Another article suggested that women would be superior to men in terms of exercising the franchise for the good of the race. Attacking the system of party politics, and probably the practice of some African American men to trade their votes for material goods, correspondent Fannie Williams wrote that if women followed the same practices, "we shall be guilty of the same folly and neglect of self-interest that have made colored men for the past twenty years vote persistently more for the special interests of white men than for the peculiar interests of the colored race. . . . Much more ought to be expected of colored women in 1894 in the exercise of their suffrage than was expected of the colored men who first voted under the Fifteenth Amendment."[34]

In one article, men were mentioned as providing impetus to the suffrage movement by their opposition to it. A sardonic note of gratitude was extended to the "Man Suffrage Association for the impetus their organized opposition to Woman Suffrage has given to that cause."[35]

The notion of motherhood was presented in dual fashion, with statements exalting motherhood and others that defended women who chose not to be mothers or who did not embrace the role enthusiastically. But the concept was not tied to civic responsibility. While domestic life and the role of the mother were honored, there is no evidence that Ruffin or her contributors to the *Woman's Era* extended motherhood into the civic realm, as white women had done earlier under the notion of "Republican Motherhood."[36] They acknowledged the role of mother in its importance to home life: "True, honored womanhood, enlightened motherhood, and happy, comfortable homes can only be secured by concerted effort on the part of the women of our land."[37] There was a regular column on "Domestic Science" and brief items on housekeeping, but Ruffin also asserted that "not all women are intended for mothers . . . clubs will make women think seriously of their future lives, and not make girls think their only alternative is to marry."[38] Such a statement reflects the opposite of linking motherhood to civic life.

Refusal of the categories of motherhood, moral superiority, altruistic impulse, and equality with men, was evident by the absence of these arguments, but also by the assertions made in the *Woman's Era* that womanhood, in and of itself, was a good and powerful attribute. That is, these women did not seem to need to justify their role and contribution to civic affairs on the basis of some particular quality or behavior. Eschewing valuation of "womanliness that only manifests itself in certain surroundings," Ruffin claimed "womanliness is an attribute not a condition,"and her contributors wrote of the "united, earnest and determined uplifting efforts of strong vigorous womanhood."[39] Fannie Williams wrote that as women entered the political arena, they would have their "womanly worth tested by the high standards of important public duties."[40] Ida De Priest was confident that womanhood was qualification enough for full enfranchisement when she wrote: "When we should gain the franchise, we must carry our *womanhood* there. Let true womanhood enter into every part of politics and be used as the instrument of all reforms."[41] Therefore, in response to the second research question, this theme of womanhood presents an alternative construction as a basis for African American woman's citizenship.

Regarding the third research question, issues of race and class difference were frequently and specifically acknowledged. The primary themes expressed in the *Woman's Era* were racial advancement and class awareness. Concerns for racial advancement and awareness of discrimination and oppression were most frequently expressed. Often, such awareness was coupled with recrimination toward oppressors, particularly white women. Reporting on the convention for the Association for the Advancement of Women (AAW), Ruffin claimed white women were hindered only by lack of suffrage and that they enjoyed growing, "almost unlimited" influence; but "realizing . . . this, we want to say a word to the A.A.W. on the responsibility of the white women for the wrongs and outrages done the black race in this country."[42] Ruffin called on the AAW women to "boldly face" the race question. In this same issue, Illinois correspondent Fannie Barrier Williams blamed the "exclusion of colored women and girls from nearly all places of respectable employment" on "the meanness of American women."[43] References to racial injustice were apparently deliberate. Ruffin editorialized that such representations were more accurate than "can be in any paper that has no colored man or woman on its editorial staff."[44]

Implied or directly stated in most references to women's civic responsibilities and identity was the notion of self-protection and elevation. This stands in contrast to the arguments for women's suffrage that proposed what women would do with the vote for others, as cited by historians. African American women, as portrayed in the *Woman's Era*, either saw the vote as a means of self-empowerment, or simply defended the need for their own development and enrichment in connection with their civic responsibility. Education was promoted, and terms such as "self-help," "self-respect," "self-interest," and "advancement" were used frequently. Notions of altruistic service were mixed with messages for self-improvement – care for others was pre-empted in favor of self-interest or advancement of the race as a whole. Suffrage was seen as a remedy for racial discrimination, but predominantly, observances of racial inequality were supported by exhortations for self-advancement and education.

References to "advancement," the importance of education, and concern for one's position in life, conveyed a tone that may be described as elitist. Certainly, readers of the *Woman's Era* were aware of their relative privileges; the editors and contributors to the journal then reflected this status back to themselves. But simultaneously, there was an awareness of the plight of the lower classes. Rather than vaulting their position to the exclusion of others, the tone of articles and editorials regarding woman's civic role suggested that such elevation and status was to be recognized and honored, but not necessarily construed as a license of superiority. The literary and cultural roots of the NACW were reflected in the content of the *Woman's Era*, and this social and artistic flavor certainly contrasted with the lives of other African American women of lesser means, and particularly, those in the South. But it was not clear that such positions were classist in terms of oppression of those less fortunate. Rather, these authors seemed aware that no matter their status, they would still be discriminated against on the basis of their race and sex. Recognition of race was occasionally coupled with references to class, conflating the two conditions, as when Ruffin wrote, "There is no class in the United States that suffers under such disadvantages as colored women. This class has everything to gain and nothing to lose by endorsing the woman suffrage movement."[45] The *Woman's Era*, then, became vital, as Ruffin stated, as a medium of exchange among educated and reformed women who were "prevented from taking their legitimate place among advanced women."[46]

In sum, constructions of women's citizenship based on the rationale of equality with men, expectation of altruistic service, and in women's role as mothers and moral superiors, was limited in the content of the *Woman's Era*. An alternative construction was based on the unadorned notion of womanhood – that is, womanliness as an attribute in and of itself. Racial and class differences and the experience of oppression was not simply acknowledged and articulated, it was the theme most frequently expressed in the content.

Discussion and Conclusion

It was expected that the four categories historians have identified as rationale for women's increased civic involvement would be present in the *Woman's Era*. That the *Woman's Era* refused the categories suggests that the rationale for suffrage, and its corresponding range of discourse, was based on white ideals and the experiences of white women. For instance, though racial uplift may be construed as a kind of altruistic impulse, it was obviously racially bound. Moreover, it was construed in terms of advancement for women and not in terms of selfless service to others, as altruism was defined and used by white suffragists. The absence of motherhood, equality with men, and moral superiority also illustrate race-differentiated discourse. African American women faced dilemmas following emancipation. For some, to work in one's own home rather than serving another was a sign of freedom and status. For others, it still represented a form of limitation, especially if such service meant deferring to a husband or was experienced as a relegation to a non-public sphere. Surely, African American women were aware of the emerging public role of women, so that just when embracing home life may have meant increased status, it was juxtaposed against the emergence of a woman's movement that was calling women *out* of the home. Thus, it is not surprising that Ruffin and other contributors to the *Woman's Era* presented both sides of the motherhood coin.

Arguments of equality with men also raised a situation informed solely by race. For white women to argue for equality with white men in a white patriarchal society was to argue for full privilege and status. For African American women to make similar claims could only have attacked limitations based on sexism. In other words, their men were still oppressed in a racist system, and to argue for equality with them may have advanced women's status in terms of gender, but was still problematic in terms of racial uplift.

Moral superiority was another category that African American women could not fully embrace. As mentioned earlier, African American women were held suspect in terms of morality. Their only recourse was to defend themselves against these attacks. Unlike white women (especially upper-class white women), African American women were limited in their use of moral virtue as rationale for suffrage.

Positioning these four categories against the realities of late nineteenth-century life for African American women highlights the racism implicit in these arguments, and offers an explanation for their absence in the discourse around women's citizenship in the *Woman's Era*. Instead, the primary arguments for civic womanhood were based, as expected, on racial awareness and advancement, as well as the virtue of womanhood—unadorned and unjustified. Paula Baker has suggested that, because of the race and class-bound nature of most arguments for suffrage, womanhood was the only category that women of all races and classes could claim in their demands for the franchise.[47] Promotion of the African American race was certainly vital for self-interests and morale, but it also situates a group on the margins in a white-dominated society. This is a familiar dilemma for alternative publications that must speak forcefully to one's own faithful, but that often keeps them on the fringes as well. Still, the arguments in the *Woman's Era* were based on the belief that self advancement would ultimately lead not only to enfranchisement, but total equality and justice as well.

It was also expected that classism would be evident in the *Woman's Era*. Based on Lerner's observations regarding the tradeoffs between members of a particular sex, race, and class, one might expect to see African American club women asserting and maintaining their class privilege. Instead, these women, while aware of their position, seemed sympathetic to the needs of their less privileged sisters. Though the content of the *Woman's Era* reflects literary, artistic, cultural and privileged pursuits, it also contained items that expressed concern for working women, southern women, and women who were denied opportunities because of their race. Historians, however, have observed that such attitudes were condescending; critics in the African American community accused clubwomen of abandoning the concerns of their race for their own advancement. Involvement in social activities and leisure pursuits would surely blind these women to the realities of their poorer, less fortunate sisters, other African American women charged.[48] Still other historians suggest that clubwomen did advance their race and instill a sense of pride. African American club women were more successful than white clubwomen in bridging class boundaries between women, according to Lerner.[49] This observation is more consistent with the rhetoric in the *Woman's Era*, which stressed interdependence, concern for the welfare of all women, and progress and advancement of the entire African American race. African American club women experienced racism, and this informed their arguments regarding the role and duty of women in civic and public life – that is, to combat inequality and injustice.

Observations regarding racist structures and forms of discourse informed by race raises again the questions of dominance and ideological hegemony. Though affiliated with an established organization and distributed nationally, this publication was short-lived. It was one of a handful of a publications addressed to African American women. Its ideological force was thus diluted in the face of a growing white suffrage movement and an entire social fabric that privileged whiteness. For lack of resources, advertising and subscribers, its voice was ultimately silenced. If the ideology of woman's citizenship that has persisted remains in a realm defined discursively as the importance of motherhood, the defense of moral superiority, the value of altruistic service, and the position of equality with men, it is an ideology that, given the results of this study, promotes particular interests based on race. Therefore, to the extent that women's publications conformed to this discursive realm they contributed to ideological hegemony and structures of dominance. Such knowledge is useful in terms of reconstructing the history of women and journalism, as well as informing our present understanding of the relationship between media discourse and ideology. The *Woman's Era* may not have had long-lasting influence; still, during its existence, it presented a counterhegemonic voice if only in its refusal of standard arguments for woman's suffrage and the labels upon which enfranchisement was defended.

ENDNOTES

1. Works that address the woman's suffrage movement and this time period include Catherine Clinton, *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984); Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978); Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1981); Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1989); Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the U.S.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975); Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century U.S.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Charles E. Rosenberg, "Sexuality, Class and Role in Nineteenth-Century America," in Elizabeth and Joseph Pleck, eds. *The American Man* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980), pp. 219-254; Sheila M. Rothman, *Woman's Proper Place: A History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1978); Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Hysterical Woman: Sex Roles and Role Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America," *Social Research* 39 (Winter, 1972): 652-678. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer, 1966): 151-174.

2. Peter Golding and Graham Murdock, "Ideology and the Mass Media: The Question of Determination," in *Ideology and Cultural Production*, ed. Michele Barrett, Philip Corrigan, Annette Kuhn and Janet Wolff (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979); Stuart Hall, "Culture, the Media and the 'Ideological Effect'," in *Mass Communication and Society*, ed. James Curran, Michael Gurevitch, Janet Woollacott (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1979): Stuart Hall, "The rediscovery of 'ideology': Return of the Repressed in Media Studies," in *Culture, Society, and the Media*, ed. Michael Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Janet Woollacott (New York and London: Routledge, 1982); Stuart Hall, "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms," in *Media, Culture and Society, a Critical Reader*, ed. Rochard Collins, James Curran, Nicholas Garnham, Paddy Scannell, Phillip Schlesinger and Colin Sparks (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1986); Stuart Hall, "Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates," in *Critical Perspectives in Media and Society*, ed. Robert K. Avery and David Eason (New York: The Guilford Press, 1991); Armand Mattelart, *Mass Meaia, Ideologies and the Revolutionary Movement*, trans. Malcolm Coad (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1980); Angela McRobbie, "*Jackie*: An Ideology of Adolescent Femininity," in *Popular Culture: Past and Present*, ed. Bernard Waites, Tony Bennett and Graham Martin (London: The Open University, 1982).

3. As described and defined in Graeme Turner, *British Cultural Studies* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992).

4. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings*, ed. David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, trans. William Boelhower (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985): 386; useful conceptions of ideology may also be found in John B. Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Age of Mass Communication* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990): 28-67.

5. Hall, "Culture, the Media and the 'Ideological Effect'," 340.

6. A useful compilation of studies regarding race and the media is *Gender, Race and Class in the Media: A Text Reader*, ed. Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez. Of special note in this reader are Stuart Hall, "The Whites of Their Eyes: Racist Ideologies and the Media," and Jane Rhodes, "The Visibility of Race and Media History." Images of African American women in periodicals published by African American men are explored in Judith Sealander, "Antebellum Black Press Images of Women," *Western Journal of Black Studies* 6:3 (Fall, 1982): 159-165. Sealander found that images of African American women as portrayed in these papers relied on ideals and values espoused by white culture.

7. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 108.

8. Hall, "Signfication, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates," 88.

9. Gerda Lerner, "Reconceptualizing Differences Among Women," *Journal of Women's History* (Winter, 1990): 116.

10. Literature primarily about the suffrage press includes: Martha Solomon, ed. *A Voice of Their Own* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1991), which cites several local and national studies; Lana F. Rakow and Cheris Kramarae, ed. *The Revolution in Words: Righting Women, 1868-1871* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Marion Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977; Lynne Masel-Walters, "To Hustle with the Rowdies: The Organization and Functions of the American Suffrage Press," *Journal of American Culture* 3 (Spring, 1980): 166-183; Lynne Masel-Walters, "A Burning Cloud by Day: The History and Content of the *Woman's Journal*," *Journalism History* 3:4 (Winter, 1976-77): 103-110; Lynne Masel-Walters, "Their Rights and Nothing More: A History of the *Revolution*, 1868-1870," *Journalism Quarterly* 53 (Summer, 1976): 242-251; Anne Mather, "A History of Feminist Periodicals, Part I," *Journalism History* 1:3 (Autumn, 1974): 82-85; Linda Steiner, "The History and Structure of Women's Alternative Media," in *Women Making Meaning*, ed. Lana Rakow (New York: Routledge, 1992); Linda Steiner, "Nineteenth-Century Suffrage Periodicals: Conceptions of Womanhood and the Press," in *Ruthless Criticism, New Perspectives in U.S. Communication History*, ed. William S. Solomon and Robert W. McChesney (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

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11. Biographical information on Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin may be found in Rodger Streitmatter, "Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, Driving Force in the Woman's Club Movement," in *Raising Her Voice: African-American Women Journalists Who Changed History* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1994); Gayle J. Hardy, "Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin," in *American Women Civil Rights Activists, Biobibliographies of 68 Leaders, 1825-1992* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1993); Jessie Carney Smith, ed. *Notable Black American Women* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1992); Gerda Lerner, ed., *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York: Random House, 1972), 433-458.

12. Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists*, 331.

13. Histories of the General Federation of Women's Clubs include Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1980); Mildred White Wells, *Unity in Diversity: The History of the General Federation of Women's Clubs* (Washington: General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1953); Mary I. Wood, *The History of the General Federation of Women's Clubs for the First 22 Years of Its Organization* (New York: General Federation of Women's Clubs, History Department, 1912).

14. Wilson Jeremiah Moses, "Domestic Feminism Conservatism, Sex Roles, and Black Women's Clubs, 1893-1896," *Journal of Social and Behavioral Sciences* 24:4 (Fall, 1987): 166-177.

15. Streitmatter, "Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin," footnote 9.

16. Streitmatter, "Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin," 65.

17. See especially Paula Giddings, "The Quest for Woman Suffrage," in *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: William Morrow, 1984), 119-131; Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Discrimination Against Afro-American Women in the Woman's Movement, 1830-1920," in *The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images*, ed. Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn (Port Washington, NY: National University Publications, 1978), 17-27.

18. Giddings, *When and Where I Enter*, 95-117, 135-142; Lerner, *Black Women in White America*, 447-450; Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana and Chicago, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

19. Terborg-Penn, "Discrimination Against Afro-American Women," 22-24; Gerda Lerner, "Community Work of Black Club Women," in *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 83-93.

20. Scott, *Natural Allies*, 147.

21. These methods are suggested in Clifford Christians and James Carey, "The Logic and Aims of Qualitative Research," in *Research Methods in Mass Communication*, 2nd edition, ed. Guido Stempel and Bruce Westley

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Running head: SENDING UP SIGNALS

SENDING UP SIGNALS:
A STUDY OF HOW NATIVE AMERICANS USE AND ARE REPRESENTED IN THE MASS MEDIA

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Sending Up Signals:
A Study of How Native Americans Use and Are Represented in the Mass Media

Abstract- 75 words

Dances with Wolves, "How the West Was Lost", and "Northern Exposure"--the 1990s promise to be the decade of Native Americans. Yet media portrayals of Natives are rare. Research on Natives in the media is also extremely limited. A survey was conducted to explore what media Native Americans consume and what they think about media portrayals. The findings contribute to research on media audiences, stereotypes, and minority representations.

Sending Up Signals:
A Study of How Native Americans Use and Are Represented in the Mass Media

Abstract - 200 words

Dances with Wolves, "How the West Was Lost", and "Northern Exposure--the 1990s promise to be the decade of the Native American. However, the accuracy of these media portrayals has been debated as they tend to rely on stereotypes or show Natives as existing only in the past. Research is also extremely limited. As a method of actual and symbolic annihilation, Native Americans have been categorized as one, homogeneous group of "Indians" and considered on the basis of over-generalized physical, emotional, and intellectual characteristics. Inaccurate portrayals can also effect white beliefs about Natives as well as how Natives view themselves.

This paper presents the results of an exploratory survey conducted at Northwest U.S. university to investigate two research questions: (1) what media are used by Natives and (2) how do they feel about representations in television and film? The findings show that although film presentations tend to paint a positive and relatively accurate picture of Natives, television programs fall short. This research makes an important contribution to the scarce literature on this group as well as to research on media audiences, stereotypes, and representations. In their own voices, respondents offered suggestions for change.

SENDING UP SIGNALS:
A STUDY OF HOW NATIVES USE AND ARE REPRESENTED IN THE MASS MEDIA

> . . . the mainstream media [have] put American Indians on their agenda in a big way for the first time since the illegal occupation of Wounded Knee. - T. Giago[1]

Dances with Wolves, "The Native Americans", "How the West was Lost", Geronimo, and "Northern Exposure"--a veritable flood of films and television programs that have focused on or featured Native Americans.[2] With such output, the 1990s promise to be the decade of Native Americans. The 1980s brought increased awareness of Hispanic Americans, the 1970s of women, and the 1960s of African Americans. Whether media representations of these groups have been accurate or not has been debated. Little to no research has been conducted on what media Natives are using or how they feel about this sudden burst of attention. This exploratory study sought to place Native Americans on researcher's agendas within the context of research on all minority groups. This study was guided by two research questions: (1) What media are used by Natives, and (2) What do they think about representations in television programs and in films.

Several studies have shown that there are differences in the amount of television viewing based on race or ethnicity. For example, blacks and Hispanics view more television, on average, than do whites because of the larger proportion of low income households and low education levels.[3] There has been some work done concerning African American beliefs about media representations[4] and, to a lesser extent, from a Hispanic perspective.[5] Children's racial representation in advertising has also been investigated.[6]

Background

Images of Natives have been seen throughout American advertising in the form of logos, signs and mascots for a variety of products. Examples include the Land O'Lakes maiden, Red Man tobacco, Jeep Cherokee, Crazy Horse Malt Liquor, and the Atlanta Braves' logo. Over the years, images of Native Americans have also been found in films and television programs. These representations also tend to rely on stereotypical images. When present, even in contemporary media products, Native Americans are typically found in a historical context, reliving episodes of conflict between whites and indigenous people (Dances with Wolves, "Geronimo") or as just-plain-folks ("Northern Exposure").

The Significance of Stereotypes

In 1922, Walter Lippmann emphasized the capacity of stereotypes to legitimize the status quo. These "pictures in our heads" are used to help us comprehend the world around us.[7] Stereotypes, often defined as over generalizations, are not neutral. According to Lippmann, a stereotype is

> not merely a way of substituting order for the great blooming, buzzing confusion of reality. It is not merely a short cut. It is all these things and something more. It is the guarantee of our self-respect; it is the projection upon the world of our own sense of our own value, our own position and our own rights. The stereotypes are, therefore, highly charged with the feelings that are attached to them. They are the fortress of our tradition, and behind its defense we can continue to feel ourselves safe in the position we occupy.[8]

According to Seiter, the significance of stereotypes as an "operation of ideology becomes clear: they are full of hegemonic potential."[9] Several researchers have argued that television is the primary vehicle used by subordinate groups who are taught dominant values and ideology .[10] The tool by which the mass media accomplish this education is through the establishment and perpetuation of stereotypes about groups and individuals.

The significance of this area of investigation is that stereotyping individuals, or neglecting to portray them, has two important consequences: (1) it dehumanizes individuals and, (2) the absence of media representations serves to symbolically annihilate minorities.[11] The preponderance of stereotypical images of Native Americans also serves to "make Indians into conceptual relics, artifacts. Worse, they are confirmed as existing only in the past." [12] How much media an individual consumes is often related to their perceptions of the world around them.[13] Seeing oneself portrayed in the media can serve in constructing a view of oneself and the world outside. *Not* seeing oneself portrayed can also impact the development and maintenance of self-image. According to Rich, what happens "when someone with the authority of a teacher describes our society and you're not in it?" It can be confusing and disorienting, "as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing."[14]

As a method of actual and symbolical annihilation, all Native Americans have been categorized as "Indians" and considered on the basis of over-generalized physical, emotional, and intellectual characteristics:

> The most common Indian characters viewed on the television screen are depicted as simple, lazy, wasteful, and humorless; they are shown as lacking intelligence and English-speaking skills and as believing in heathenistic nonsense for a religion.[15]

This treatment can be traced back to the times of the arrival of Europeans in North America when Natives were considered "biologically and morally 'inferior' to the more 'civilized' newcomers who were only doing God's will in conquering the natives and taking their land."[16] Indians were seen as the Noble Red Man or Child of Nature i.e., the Noble Savage, and credited "either with a habit of flowery oratory of extreme dullness or else with an inability to converse in anything more than grunts and monosyllables." However, the intent of whites was better served by creating a more fearsome myth, that of the "ruthless, faithless" savage.[17]

This way of thinking accompanied westward migration as whites displaced tribes and confiscated their land. As a result of reducing native peoples to "types" it was possible to generate a level of hatred and disgust sufficient to make genocide a seemingly reasonable solution to the "Indian problem". According to Giago, "War machines have always justified their actions by dehumanizing the enemy . . . Fraternizing with an enemy is strictly forbidden, because disillusionment can open the heart."[18] Yet, "it is not really difference the oppressor fears so much as similarity".[19]

Due to economic hardship, disease, and despair, the Native American population fell from several million to roughly 250,000 in 1900.[20] Today there are nearly two million individuals claiming Native ancestry in one of more than 500 tribes,[21] with the largest tribe being Cherokee, followed by Navajo, Chippewa, and Sioux.[22] There are hundreds of tribes with fewer than 1,000 members. Although only about one-third of Native Americans live on reservations, the image of Indian life as reservation life is often characterized by poverty, suicide, family violence, school failure, high infant mortality, and alcohol related illnesses.[23] According to a Kootenai man,

> In the media, Native Americans are portrayed as people who live in slums (where the gov't put them), live off of your tax money (our land was taken, thank you very much), drunks (why shouldn't they be depressed?) and basically numbered, labeled, and canned, then shuffled on to desolate, barren, useless land to live a quiet life out of the way of mainstream white collar America.[24]

Whether on the reservation or off, however, the stress of life in white society has resulted in Native Americans having the lowest life expectancy of all United States sub populations. As recourse for feelings of apartness, in the 1960s and 1970s many Native Americans chose not to abandon their heritage. Instead they sought ways to preserve it. This included the development of

Native American radio and television.[25]

Previous Literature

Although the civil rights movement and the women's movement stimulated research on the impact of television on viewer's belief systems and perceptions of social reality, little attention was paid to the experiences of minorities.[26] When research was conducted on minority groups, the focus was primarily on television viewing levels and experiences of African Americans[27] and Hispanics [28] or on advertising representations.[29]

Research on Native Americans is limited. Green investigated portrayals of Native Americans in advertising, identifying three images: (1) the Noble Savage, (2) the Civilized Savage and, (3) the Blood-thirsty Savage.[30] Travel advertising images of Native Americans have also been investigated [31] as well as film portrayals.[32] Morris explored television portrayals and the socialization of native American children[33] and Keith has analyzed native broadcasting in America.[34] There has also been research on the Native press and broadcasting, [35] accessing and reporting on American Indians, [36] and attitudes toward Indians as covered in the Native and mainstream press.[37]

In the absence of other means of learning about the social environment, the media are often turned to for information on the dominant social system. Ball-Rokeach has suggested that, within Black and Hispanic populations, there are "social patterns and structural patterns between the mass media and other social systems in which Blacks and Hispanics organize their lives."[38] It is argued that individuals are dependent upon the mass media as their basic link to the larger society.[39] Therefore, it is important to evaluate how much time Natives spend with the media and what media they are using.

Method

A mail survey was distributed to all self-identified Native American students on a Northwestern U.S. college campus during January 1995. A pretest of the survey instrument was conducted among members of the campus Native American student group. Mailing labels of all Native American students enrolled at the university were obtained from the campus minority affairs office . The survey was mailed to all 190 students identified as Native American by this office. Given the scarcity of research on Natives, studies that measured other minority groups' usage and beliefs were used as a guide in developing the survey instrument.[40] The survey packet contained a cover letter that clearly identified the researcher and assured anonymity, the survey, and a self-addressed stamped envelope.

The advantages of conducting a mail survey included the protection of anonymity. This was particularly important for this population as Natives are often sought as subjects for research. Several individuals pointed out that they had already been contacted for a telephone survey the same week that they received this survey and wondered why, "all of a sudden, people are so interested in us." Several individuals indicated privacy was important for personal safety reasons. Additional reasons for using a mail survey included the economy of the method, turn around time, and the ability to narrowly target the Native students based on their identification as members of this group.[41]

A thirty-nine percent response rate was achieved with seventy-four surveys returned and two undeliverable. This response level is adequate given the difficulty in reaching this population, cultural differences concerning receptivity to participation in projects such as research, the exploratory nature of this research, and the importance of this area of study.[42] Twenty-nine tribal groups are represented in the findings (Table 1).

The data were collected by means of a questionnaire containing thirty-seven items. Three dictionaries were created to code magazines titles, television programs, and films as they arose. The majority of questions were forced-choice and one was open-ended. As this was an exploratory study and not a formal test of theory, results are presented descriptively in frequencies and percentages. The major content areas addressed in the survey included:

- General media use
- Media evaluations
- Media content preferences
- Native American television and film portrayals
- Evaluations of Native American portrayals
- Demographics and other classification variables including tribal affiliation
- Open-ended question concerning representation

Findings

The findings will be reported by demographic information, media use, and responses to an open-ended question on representation.

Demographics

Most of the respondents were between the ages of 18 and 24 (62 percent). This was followed by persons 25 to 34 years of age (21 percent), 35-44 (12 percent) and 45 to 54 (5 percent). Forty-two women and thirty men returned the questionnaires. Two individuals did not indicate gender. In terms of marital status, nearly three-quarters of the individuals were single (72 percent), followed by married (16 percent). Twelve percent were divorced.

Table 1 provides information on the wide range of tribal affiliations. Nearly one-quarter of respondents affiliated themselves with the Cherokee tribe. This was followed by Choctaw and Apache (each 5 percent).

Table 1

Tribal Affiliation

Tribe	Frequency	Percent
Cherokee	15	20
Choctaw	4	5
Apache	4	5
Grande Ronde	3	4
Chickasaw	3	4
Delaware	2	3
Eskimo	2	3
Sioux	2	3
Ojibwa	2	3
Klamath	2	3
Blackfeet	2	3
Creek	2	3
Hoopa	2	3
Siletz	2	3
Warm Springs	2	3
Tolowa	1	1
Chumash	1	1
Potawatame	1	1
Chippewa	1	1
Calpuya	1	1
Lumbee	1	1
Umatilla	1	1
Cowlitz	1	1
Seneca	1	1
Yurok	1	1
Osage	1	1
Odawa	1	1
No response	13	18
Total	74	100

Media Use

Newspaper. Native students appear to be newspaper readers. Most (46 percent) said they read both a daily and a Sunday newspaper. Approximately 38 percent do not read the newspaper and 12 percent read only a daily paper. Of those individuals that read the newspaper, most (48 percent) read a mainstream daily, while 44 percent read a tribal and daily paper. Eight percent read only a tribal paper that is provided to enrolled members.

As Table 2 reveals, most Natives read the newspaper for local information (85 percent). More than two-thirds read the newspaper for national news and nearly two-thirds look for entertainment information. Slightly more than half enjoy the paper for the sports section.

Table 2

Newspaper Purpose

	Frequency	Percent*
For Local information	39	85
For national information	34	74
Entertainment	29	63
Sports	24	52

*Respondents could select multiple reasons. Percent is of total newspaper readers.

Magazines. Most of the native students subscribe to magazines (59 percent) while forty-one percent do not. Of those who do subscribe, the majority (56 percent) receive two to three publications. Approximately fifteen percent subscribe to one or fewer or four to five titles and fourteen percent of the students subscribe to five or more magazines. A total of seventy-nine titles were listed (Appendix 1). Table 2 describes, by title, the magazines students are receiving when mentioned at least twice. (Sixty-two publications were mentioned only one time each).

Table 2

Magazines

	Frequency	Percent*
National Geographic	5	11
Newsweek	4	9
Playboy	3	7
Gentlemen's Quarterly	3	7
Sports Illustrated	3	7
Utne Reader	3	7
ABA Journal	3	7
Interview	2	5
Writer's Digest	2	5
Glamour	2	5
Vegetarian Times	2	5
Shape	2	5
Elle	2	5
Time	2	5
Life	2	5
Field & Stream	2	5
Sunset	2	5
Snow Board	2	5

* Respondents could select multiples

Radio. All respondents own a radio. As Table 3 shows, rock and roll is the preferred radio station format (79 percent). This was followed by classical (45 percent) and country (28 percent).

Table 3

Preferred Formats

Format	Frequency	Percent*
Rock 'n' Roll	59	79
Classical	33	45
Other	25	34**
Country	21	28
Oldies	20	27
Tribal	10	14

* Respondents could select multiples ** Other included alternative, R & B & rap.

Television. Eighty-two percent of respondents own a television set. Nearly three-quarters own a VCR (70 percent). Eighty percent reported renting video tapes, while less than half (36 percent) buy them. Only one individual owned a satellite dish. Less than half (46 percent) subscribed to cable and fewer than one-quarter (24 percent) subscribed to premium channels.

The time spent watching television was minimal. Most reported viewing 1 to 2 hours per television per day (32 percent). This was followed by less than 1 hour (27 percent) and two to four hours per day (19 percent). Eight-percent watched more than four hours of television per day.

Table 4 (following page) reveals favorite television programs. "Seinfeld" was the leading program with twenty-six percent viewing. This was followed by "Northern Exposure" (21 percent) and "Star Trek- the Next Generation" and "Home Improvement", each with 20 percent. (Appendix 2 lists all television programs mentioned).

More than half of the respondents (58 percent) were not satisfied with television programming for children, followed by those with no opinion (33 percent). Nearly two-thirds of the respondents were not satisfied with television programming for adults (60 percent) followed by those who were (34 percent).

Movies. Nearly all the respondents (92 percent) reported being movie goers

Table 4

Favorite Television Programs

Program	Frequency	Percent
Seinfeld	16	26*
Northern Exposure	13	21
Star Trek Next Gen	12	20
Home Improvement	12	20
Simpsons	11	18
90210	10	16
Melrose Place	10	16
Letterman	9	15
X Files	9	15
Public Broadcasting	8	13
ER	8	13
Grace under Fire	7	11
PBS programming	7	11
Roseanne	5	8
Friends	5	8
20/20	4	7
60 Minutes	4	7
Mad About You	4	7
Picket Fences	3	5
Chicago Hope	3	5
NYPD Blue	3	5
Jeopardy	3	5

* Respondents could select up to three programs.

Representation

The following section presents the findings of questions asking respondents to note television programs and films that presented Natives in the cast. Nearly all (93 percent) could recall seeing Native Americans portrayed in television programs. Table 5 reveals that nearly one-third (29 percent) recalled seeing Native Americans in "Northern Exposure", followed by "Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman" (12 percent).

Table 5

Programs Featuring Native Americans

Program	Frequency	Percent
Northern Exposure	20	29
Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman	8	12
Sesame Street	4	6
Public Broadcasting	4	6
90210	3	4
Renegade	3	4
Star Trek Next Generation	3	4
90210	3	4
Walk, Texas Ranger	2	3
The Native Americans	2	3
Simpsons	2	3
Cops	2	3
Jerry Springer	1	1
Lone Ranger	1	1
Roseanne	1	1
WWF Wrestling	1	1
Seinfeld	1	1
Lakota Woman	1	1
Sisters	1	1
Kung Fu	1	1
X Files	1	1
L.A. Law	1	1
Geronimo	1	1
Married w/Children	1	1

Table 6 reveals that nearly one-third found portrayals to be negative and inaccurate. Twenty-percent of the respondents considered Native portrayals in these programs to be positive and accurate.

Table 6

Television Portrayals

	Frequency	Percent
Positive and accurate	15	20
Negative & inaccurate	23	31
No opinion	16	22
Positive & inaccurate	9	12
No Answer	11	15
Total	74	100

Movies. Nearly two-thirds (66 percent) recalled several films with Native Americans appearing. Table 7 describes these films. The most frequently mentioned movie was Dances With Wolves (58 percent), followed by Last of the Mohicans (29 percent).

Table 7

Films Featuring Native Americans

Film	Frequency	Percent*
Dances With Wolves	38	58
Last of the Mohicans	19	29
Thunderheart	13	20
Geronimo	12	18
Legends of the Fall	7	11
Maverick	5	8
Westerns	5	8
Pow Wow Highway	4	6
Black Robe	3	5
Never Cry Wolf	2	3
On Deadly Ground	2	3
Clear Cut	1	2
Wind Walker	1	2
Posse	1	2
Sacred Ground	1	2

* Respondents could list up to three films.

Table 8 reveals beliefs about the nature and accuracy of these film portrayals. Most (29 percent) felt that on the whole, film portrayals were positive and accurate. This was followed by approximately one-quarter (24 percent) who felt the portrayals were negative and inaccurate.

Table 8

Movie Portrayals

	Frequency	Percent
Positive & accurate	21	29
Negative & inaccurate	18	24
No opinion	12	16
Positive & inaccurate	9	12
No answer	14	19
Total	74	100

In Their Own Words

An open-ended question was included to allow for expression of personal feelings and to encourage elaboration. The question asked, "In your own words, please describe your feelings about the portrayal of Native Americans in the mass media (television, movies, magazines)."

The responses suggest important ways of thinking about the issues raised in this study as well as pointing out some important areas for future research. For example, not much had changed in terms of assessing progress in the representation of Native Americans in the media, as a Cherokee/Blackfoot woman simply asked, "Where are they?"

In addition, when Natives are portrayed the representations don't often consider the differences between tribes, presenting one homogeneous Indian image:

> Out of all the peoples portrayed in the media, with the new show geared toward Asians and all the black comedies, the American Indians are still being pushed back and are not involved in this "American culture". They keep showing us on some reservation but not really a part of the society and they always show us not fitting into society.--Cherokee/Blackfoot

A film portrayal was used as an example by this man

> "On Deadly Ground" , with Steven Segal, is a movie that had natives in it and some of the natives were played by Asians. I did not like the way they were portrayed, nor that Natives were not even playing the parts. - Eskimo

More specifically, according to a Cherokee/Cheyenne woman:

> TV glorifies the highly assimilated Native Americans while movies seem to encourage a romanticized "return to the past," whereby Native Americans are treated as the noble savage of yesteryear.

Some individuals replied with personal examples of how the media do or do not relate to their lives. A Tolowa woman offered the following:

> I've been spending a lot of time within the last year with my grandma and her sisters and brothers and I think that they are normal people. It would be neat to portray natives as just that.

According to an Iroquois woman, inaccurate portrayals are disturbing to watch:

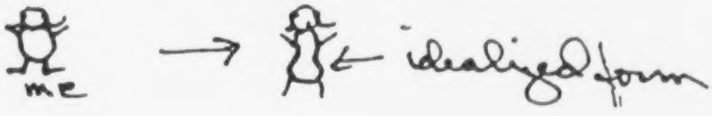
> I think Native Americans in the media are generally romanticized and overly dramatic. I have been raised with many traditions and traditional ceremonies and to see these portrayed incorrectly makes my stomach sick.-- Iroquois

An important consideration is media images received by children. As discussed earlier, inaccurate inclusion or deliberate exclusion from media content can have an impact not only on how whites view Indians, but on how Indians come to think of themselves.

> Most people believe the generalizations and (few) facts as gospel. This certainly creates an identity crisis for many of the purposely assimilated young Indian children. These children often find themselves not knowing who to identify with, or which ethnic class to whom they belong.--Arapaho

How realistic these portrayals are goes beyond historical accuracies and reach into individual beliefs about self, as a Chickasaw woman offered in words and in images:

> Real people need to be depicted - I tire to think that my own body is so typically native and hasn't yet reached its idealized (media hype) form.



Several individuals offered suggestions for change, proactive ideas of how equity might be sought in media representations through Native American's involvement in the creation of movies, films, and news stories. According to an Apache woman, "Although it is obvious that some producers are attempting to be more accurate, it can never fully be accomplished unless the producer, writers, etc. are Native Americans." A Delaware man suggested the following:

> The fact that it makes any sense to talk about the (single, homogeneous) portrayal of Native Americans, all in one lump, is symptomatic of something in itself. I'd be a lot more interested in what would happen if there were more Indians behind those cameras and microphones, writing and producing stuff for the mass market about their own cultures, speaking for themselves/ourselves, with many voices.

A Hoopa man added that, "Native Americans today need to take a proactive role in defining themselves. Only then will correct perceptions follow in the mass media".

Limitations

Mail survey research can be limiting in that the opportunity for the researcher to get feed back is reduced and there is no assurance that respondents will return the survey. Native Americans are a very difficult population to reach and assurances of anonymity are important. Therefore, a mail survey provided a relatively unobtrusive method. Although the findings are not representative of all Native Americans they provide an important first step in accessing this population.

Many of the media use findings could be attributed to the age and lifestyle of the college participants and may not differ substantially from non-native use. Given that most are not reservation Indians some media use is attributable to interests of youth. However, nearly thirty-eight percent of respondents were over the age of 25.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This research investigated two important areas: (1) media use by Native Americans and, (2) beliefs about representations in the media. The Natives surveyed tend to read newspapers, to a lesser extent read magazines, listen to radio, and watch a moderate amount of television. Most are not satisfied with television programming for adults. Although many television programs are viewed, only a handful include Native Americans in their stories. Considering the number of films produced each year, it is interesting how few films could be cited.

The commercial success of Dances with Wolves is likely to have provided the impetus for other projects. A number of television programs have followed as well, such as productions by Ted Turner ("Geronimo", "Native Americans", "Lakota Woman") and related merchandising. As media presentations increase, so does the likelihood of study.

This study is important, as the absence of scholarly attention "implies that Native Americans are not worthy of attention and perpetuates the sense of invisibility and institutional racism."[43] Future research could focus on content issues, such as representations in film and television and why representations seem to differ.

In this study, respondents suggested that while television portrayals tend to be negative and inaccurate, films give a more positive and realistic representation. This could be a function of the time constraints of each medium. Whereas television programs tend to have less than an hour to develop characters and tell their stories, films have longer. This difference could also be related to the nature of the audience for each medium. It is likely that television audiences are prepared to go to commercials and invest less mental effort into the viewing process than do film goers. However, given the size of television audiences it is important for programmers to take this into consideration. When Natives do appear on television and in films, the quality of that portrayal is important.

Because Native Americans do not represent a major consumer group, media content producers are less concerned about statistically proportional representations in the media. A respondent offered this critique

> Mass media is a business, profit-oriented by definition. Native Americans are portrayed in whichever manner will put money in the distributor's, producer's, director's collective pockets. Change in portrayal only reflects the perceived potential for | increased| sales; and not a heightened understanding of Native American's or our culture.

Future research could investigate media uses and beliefs among reservation Indians. This is likely to yield a slightly different view of the media and will also give tribe-specific beliefs that could vary based on culture, geography, and amount of assimilation.

This study also contributes to an understanding of the social and cultural impact of media on all minority groups and to on-going research concerning the representations of many groups in the mass media, including women and minorities. Qualitative research could lend depth to this work by exploring, in Native American's own words, how they feel about the media, how they use it and how advertisers, producers, and journalists can better present Native issues. The importance of the impact of images on whites, on minority populations, and particularly on children cannot be overemphasized. If attention is given when creating advertisements, films, and television programs to presenting accurate representations, audiences now, and in the future will be able to see marginalized groups as something more than "the other."[44]

A hundred thousand years have passed
Yet, I hear the distant beat of my
    father's drums
I hear his drums throughout the land
His beat I feel within my heart

The drums shall beat, so my heart
    shall beat,
And I shall live a hundred thousand years.

- Shirley Daniels (Ojibwa, 1969)[45]

Appendix 1: Magazine Titles

National Geographic
Newsweek
Playboy
Gentlemen's Quarterly
Sports Illustrated
Utne Reader
ABA Journal
Interview
Writer's Digest
Glamour
Vegetarian Times
Shape
Elle
Snow board
Life
Field & Stream
Sunset
Sierra
Parabola
Golf
Details
Mademoiselle
Movieline
New Republic
New Woman
Sesame Street
American Spectator
National Review
Entertainment Weekly
Self
YM
Travel
Crossroads
Sporting News
US
Photo
Psychology Today
Forbes
Flex
Fortune
Audubon
High Country
Vogue
Scientific American
Volleyball
Cats
Cosmopolitan
U.S. News & World
L.A. Village View
Health & Fitness
Golf Digest
Car Audio
Auto Sound
Time
New Mexico
Metropolitan
Outdoor Life
Alaska
Sierra
Ski
Native Peoples
Discover
Consumer Reports
Popular Science
Bicycles
Spy
National Wildlife
Seventeen
Indian Art
Country Living
NW Parks
Handwoven
RedBook

Appendix 2- Television Programs Watched

Simpsons
National Geographic
Letterman
NYPD Blue
ER
Cops
Friends
Renegade
WWF Wrestling
Lone Ranger
Beavis & Butthead
Seinfeld
Dr. Quinn
Law & Order
Seaquest
Good Morning America
Young and Restless
Sisters
Picket Fences
60 Minutes
Jerry Springer
Grace Under Fire
Action Pack
Kung Fu
Melrose Place
Frasier
L.A. Law
90210
SNL
MTV
Ellen
Married with Children
Today
Jeopardy
Northern Exposure
Home Improvement
20/20
Chicago Hope
How the West Was...
Roseanne
Touched by an Angle
Bonanza
Fresh Prince
Coach
CNN news
Wings (Discovery)
Nova
Mad About You
Bob Villa
PBS
Sesame Street
Martin
Walker, Texas Ranger
My So Called Life
Star Trek- 2 versions
Cheers
Days of Our Lives
Oprah
X Files
Party of Five
All My Children
Sports Center
NFL Primetime
Twin Peaks
General Hospital

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Negro-Appeal Radio Stations Using a Rhythm-and-Blues Music Format, 1947-1963

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ABSTRACT

The rhythm-and-blues radio format was one of the first segmented formats to succeed during the time when television was replacing network radio as the nation's foremost mass medium, 1947-1963. A variation of so-called "Negro-appeal; radio," the format featured black radio announcers who played recordings of rhythm-and-blues music aimed at a primarily black audience. This research paper examines some of the leading radio stations that were pioneers in employing the rhythm-and-blues radio format.They included southern stations such as WDIA in Memphis and WERD in Atlanta, Midwestern stations such as WCHB in Detroit and WBEE in Chicago, Northeastern stations such as WOOK in Washington, D.C., and WLIB in New York City, and Western stations such as KDIA in Oakland-San Francisco and KGFJ in Los Angeles. The study briefly describes some of the disc jockey personalities, programming policies and economic factors that made the stations successful in their own right as well as establishing a precedent that led to the emergence of the highly successful rock 'n' roll and Top-40 formats that followed.

The rhythm-and-blues format was introduced by "Negro-appeal" radio stations that catered to the needs and musical preferences of black listeners. It was among the first segmented, non-network, formats that prospered during the early years of television—the late 1940s and 1950s. Although the video medium contributed to the decline of live network-radio broadcasting, it also influenced the growth of locally based radio stations that featured pre-recorded, musical programming.

Rhythm-and-blues radio served as a model among these locally based formats. It not only was very successful in its own right, it also provided the groundwork for the development of mainstream rock music and the enormously popular Top-40 format that emerged during the late 1950s.

The main attribute of rhythm-and-blues radio was rhythm-and-blues music, a genre that flourished during the period between the end of World War II and the onset of the Vietnam War.[1] The music offered raucous instrumental tunes with screeching saxophones that made the listener want to get up and dance. It also was characterized by slower, romantic love songs performed by vocalists who sang in an intimate, heartfelt style. And it featured fast-paced vocal recordings with a "big beat" that conveyed enthusiasm, joy and vitality.

The music's spirit was youthful, urban and modern. Its singers, distinguishably black, performed with more involvement than pop, more worldliness than gospel and more emphasis on vocal technique than jazz. Yet, rhythm and blues unquestionably borrowed much from all three of these music forms.[2]

The format followed in the tradition of the disc-jockey programs on mainstream radio that had been popularized by Martin Block on his Make Believe Ballroom," which relied on pre-recorded material instead of live performances.[3] But unlike "Make Believe Ballroom," its music was primarily by and for black Americans.

In the late 1940s, much of the earliest rhythm-and-blues programming was broadcast in small segments. For example, a radio station would try to attract a wider audience by adding a nightly rhythm-and-blues show to its schedule. Or, an enterprising individual could purchase an hour of air time on a local station for the purpose of featuring rhythm and blues. Stations with a full-time commitment to rhythm and blues did not surface until the music had already acquired a large audience. Eventually, however, station managers in cities with substantial black populations were encouraged to build an entire format around their audiences' increasing demand for rhythm and blues.

This study examines the principal Negro-appeal stations that broadcast the rhythm-and-blues format between 1947 and 1963. These stations, grouped by region, were among the forerunners of all radio outlets with formats that aimed at a specific, demographically defined audience.

The South

The reality of a full-time, Negro-appeal radio station was born at WDIA in Memphis. A station that previously had broadcast classical music, it was purchased by white entrepreneurs Bert Ferguson and John R. Pepper on June 7, 1947. The 250-watt station began broadcasting as a full-time Negro-appeal outlet on October 25, 1948.[4]

Ferguson and Pepper wanted a black person to be the guiding force behind WDIA. They chose Nat D. Williams, a former high school teacher, to serve as their chief adviser.[5]

Williams structured WDIA's initial programming schedule with a collection of short, music programs. These included a daily, fifteen-minute segment featuring blues singer "Sonny Boy" Williamson.[6] To satisfy the religious needs of WDIA's audience, Williams scheduled gospel recordings played by hosts Ford Nelson and Theo "Bless My Bones" Wade. Live religious programming included music performed by Negro-appeal Radio preacher "Gatemouth" Moore and Sunday services from a local black church.[7]

In short order, Nat D. Williams developed an extraordinary roster of talented, full-time disc jockeys. They included Riley "B.B." King, Rufus Thomas, A. C. Williams, Maurice Hulbert and Martha Jean Steinberg.[8]

King made his debut in 1949 as an unpaid host of a ten-minute blues show. On the air, he advertised Pepticon health tonic and plugged his live musical appearances at the Sixteenth Street Grill in West Memphis. He was earning $25 a week for his solo act at the Grill and perhaps royalty payments from his local hits that year on the Bulleit label.[9]

Station owner Ferguson used King to record a catchy jingle for Pepticon health elixir: "Pepticon, Pepticon, sure is good. You can get it anywhere in your neighborhood." Before long, King's radio duties were lengthened as his stature grew as both a blues performer and a station personality. He was assigned a regular-length disc jockey shift for his "Sepia Swing Club," where he played records and performed live using his nickname "Beale Street Blues Boy." King's nickname was shortened to "Blues Boy" and then shortened again to become his famous stage initials, "B.B." King.[10] After switching record companies to the Bihari Brothers' RPM label, King performed songs that reached number one on *Billboard's* rhythm-and-blues charts for each of the next four years—"Three O'Clock Blues" in 1951, "You Know I Love You" in 1952, "Please Love Me" in 1953 and "You Upset Me Baby" in 1954. By then, King had left the disc jockey trade to pursue his musical career on a full-time basis.

In 1950, Rufus Thomas joined WDIA's announcing team. He was a veteran singer, comedian and dancer who had begun performing years earlier with the Rabbit Foot Minstrels and the Harlem-in-Havana Troupe minstrel company. In high school, he studied history under Nat D. Williams and had since replaced him as the host of amateur nights at Memphis' Palace Theater. When WDIA expanded its daily schedule in 1954, Thomas began doing a nightly blues and rhythm-and-blues program called "Hoot 'n' Holler." He always opened his shows with this rhyme:

I'm young and loose, and full of juice.
I've got the goose, so what's the use?
We're feeling gay, though we ain't got a dollar.
So let's all get together and hoot 'n' holler![11]

Like King, Thomas recorded a song that climbed to number one on the national rhythm-and-blues chart. But Thomas did not record "Do the Push and Pull, Part 1" until 1970. His biggest hit during the 1950s was "Bear Cat," a song that climbed to number three on *Billboard's* chart in 1953.

Disc jockeys A. C. Williams and Maurice Hulbert had attracted the attention of Nat D. Williams when he was teaching at a Memphis high school. A. C. "Moohah" Williams became the host of blues programs "Saturday Night Fish Fry" and "Wheeling on Beale." He also worked as host of a gospel program, "Delta Melodies" and a live-performance show, "Teen Town Revue." But it was the other former teacher, "Hot Rod" Hulbert, who was destined to become one of the most popular and influential disc jockeys in the history of radio.

The essence of versatility, Hulbert began his day at WDIA as the dignified host of a morning gospel program, "Tan Town Jubilee." At 10 o'clock, Hulbert adopted a romantic persona to emcee "Sweet Talkin' Time," a precursor of the 1980s "Quiet Storm" format. Then came his transformation into the famous "Hot Rod," the electrifying host of WDIA's evening "Sepia Swing Club."[12]

Martha Jean Steinberg was among the first female disc jockeys to earn a living in rhythm-and-blues radio. She was brought to the station to follow in the footsteps of Willa Monroe, who did the announcing for various feature programs that had been popular among WDIA's women listeners. But, as former WDIA disc jockey Louis Cantor recalled, Steinberg was altogether different:

> Although the station 's original intention in adding another woman announcer after Willa Monroe may have been to appeal to more females, both the Nite Spot and Premium Stuff—with Martha Jean as the host—could hardly be described as programs pitched to the women in the audience. No way! Her sultry voice and double entendres sent out unambiguous messages, leaving little doubt about which gender she was attempting to attract. In case the males missed the more subtle aural signals on the evening Night Spot, the very title of Martha Jean's Saturday noon show, Premium Stuff, drove the point home.[13]

Steinberg, whose maiden name was Jones, had married a Jewish horn player and was already a part of the music scene when she began working for WDIA in 1949. She was billed as "The Queen sponsored by the King of Beers, Budweiser."[14] Steinberg subsequently moved on to still greater fame as a disc jockey in Detroit.

Nat D. Williams played rhythm and blues at WDIA from its inception in 1948. As the station's chief announcer, he was the host of a morning show called how called "Tan Town Coffee" and an afternoon program titled "Tan Town Jamboree."[15]

In 1981, Williams discussed how he handled records containing double-entendre lyrics while adhering to the station's policy of remaining within the boundaries of good taste.

"We came up with the idea of giving them some blues," he said. "And then we had to clean them up because some of them were . . . well—suggestive. And the way I cleaned them up was, when they got to be suggestive, I'd just start talking."[16]

Though white-owned, WDIA became highly respected for its public service to the city 's black community. In keeping with its commitment to service, WDIA appointed A. C. Williams as its public relations director and acquired a reputation as "Mother Station of the Negroes." In his biography of "B.B." King, Charles Sawyer describes some of WDIA's benevolent activities:

> The station became more than an outlet for black music and a medium for advertisers to reach black markets; it became a clearing house for black community affairs. Not infrequently, long-lost relatives of Memphis families would appear at WDIA offices, asking the station to announce their arrival over the air so that their families, who they could not find at old addresses, would call in and give their new location. Lost-children and lost-pet announcements were a routine feature, given like time and temperature readings.[17]

One of WDIA's most famous innovations was its annual "Goodwill Revue." Since their inception in 1949, these live shows featured performances by famous rhythm-and-blues and gospel singers for the benefit of needy black children. The quality of the acts that appeared at the reviews is illustrated by the stellar performers on hand for the 1956 show, which raised funds for a children's home. The talent that year included Ray Charles, "B.B." King and the Moonglows.[18]

The combination of goodwill, superb air personalities and a rhythm-and-blues format enabled WDIA to prosper throughout the early 1950s. Its high point occurred in 1954, when the station's new transmitter began sending out 50,000 watts of rhythm and blues on a twenty-four hour daily schedule. By 1957, Ferguson and Pepper were able to sell WDIA to the Sonderling station group for reportedly $1 million. At the time, the station's annual profits were more than $100,000, which did not include the generous salaries extracted by its two co-owners.[19]

Another significant "first" in the South was black-owned WERD in Atlanta. The 900-watt station was purchased in 1949 by accountant Jesse B. Blayton and his son for $50,000. By 1951, WERD employed twenty-two workers including six white people. Moreover, contrary to what might have been expected of a Negro-appeal station in a Southern city, its audience was reportedly 20 percent white.[20]

Known as "The Good Word Station," WERD presented newscasts based on material in Atlanta's black newspaper, *The Daily World*. Its public affairs programming also included daily news commentary from William Boyd, a professor at Atlanta University.[21] On the music side, WERD played all types of music, from pop to classical, before ultimately settling on a rhythm-

and-blues format.

Former WERD disc jockey Jack Gibson told writer Nelson George about the exaltation he felt as part of America 's first black-owned station. "I'm proud to have been the jock who flipped the switch at 6 a.m. on a brisk October morning in 1949 and greeted the day with a hearty 'Good morning, Atlanta! We are here!'" he said.[22] Atlanta eventually had two more stations featuring rhythm and blues, WGST and WAOK.

Another early black-owned, Negro-appeal station was WSOK in Nashville, Tennessee. Launched in 1951. it was owned by a corporation that included black shareholders, thereby qualifying as a "black-owned" station.[23]

Nashville 's black disc jockeys had unforgettable names such as Lee "Blabber Mouth" Dorms, "Long, Tall, Lean" Larry Dean Faulkner, Bill "Bouncin' with Billy" Powell and Charles "Club Buggs" Scruggs.[24] They competed for the area 's rhythm-and-blues audience with the white disc jockeys at Nashville's 50,000-watt WLAC, the station that gave America the famous trio of Bill "Hoss" Allen, Gene Nobles and "John R." Richbourg.

Beginning in the late 1940s, WLAC's strong signal helped its disc jockeys to cultivate a following among rhythm-and-blues fans throughout the country, who picked up the station during the late-night hours. Radio historian Wes Smith wrote of WLAC's Richbourg, "In the 1950s at the height of his popularity, which mirrored that of rhythm-and-blues music, as many as 15 million people listened to his show each night."[25]

Another white Tennesseean with a large audience was Dewey Phillips at WHBG in Memphis. He is enshrined in radio history for initiating Elvis Presley's rise to stardom by playing the singer's new release of "It 's All Right" thirty times in one night during 1954.[26] His signature line, which he repeated at the end of his commercials, was "Tell 'em Phillips sencha."[27]

The Baltimore-Washington, D.C., area was another stronghold of rhythm-and-blues radio. Its leading stations were WEBB and WSID in Baltimore, and WOOK and WUST in Washington.

WOOK, established in 1947, had the distinction of presenting Hal Jackson, radio's first full-time black announcer. At first, his role was so unusual that a white listener, not realizing that Jackson was black, called the station to complain that it was broadcasting too much "jig music."[28]

Founded by Richard Eaton, WOOK was an innovator in using market-research data. For example, the station's advertisements called attention to census reports demonstrating that Washington's nonwhite population had increase substantially during the 1950s. In fact, the proportion of nonwhites had grown from 35 percent in 1950 to 53 percent in 1959, easily the highest nonwhite ratio of any metropolitan area in the United States.[29] In 1959, greater Washington's 635,500 black residents ranked sixth nationally surpassed only by the black populations of New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and Detroit.[30] Building on these statistics, WOOK created a complete marketing presentation describing "the richest, most

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

responsive, buying Negro market in the country."[31]

In 1960, WOOK commissioned Pulse to perform a market study of black residents in the nation's capital. The study found that 20 percent of Washington's black families had checking accounts, 40 percent had charge accounts and more than 66 percent had been living in the area for at least fifteen years.[32] Three years later, WOOK informed all who would listen that while the nation's median income for black families was $3,233, Washington's black families averaged $4,423 with a quarter of them employed with steady jobs in the government. In addition, most of Washington 's black families were young and eager to buy consumer goods.[33] These numbers encouraged so many sponsors that in 1963 the company launched WOOK-TV, the nation's first black-oriented television station.[34]

In all, the following southern radio stations presented a substantial amount of Negro-appeal programming during the 1950s:[35]

Alabama:
    Birmingham—WBCO, WEDR, WENN, WJLD
    Mobile—WGOK, WMOZ
    Selma—WHBB
    Tuscaloosa—WTUG
Arkansas:
    Little Rock—KOKY
District of Columbia:
    Washington—WOOK, WUST
Florida:
    Jacksonville—WOBS, WRHC
    Miami—WFEC
    Miami Beach—WMBM
    Pensacola—WBOP
Georgia:
    Atlanta—WAOK, WERD, WGST
    Augusta—WAUG
    Columbus—WCLS, WOKS
    Macon—WCRY
Kentucky:
    Louisville—WLOU
Louisiana:
    Baton Rouge—WXOK
    New Orleans—WBOK, WNOE, WYLD

- Shreveport—KANB, KOKA
- Maryland:
  - Annapolis—WANN
  - Baltimore—WEBB, WSID
- Mississippi:
  - Jackson—WOKJ
  - Meridian—WQIC
- North Carolina:
  - Charlotte—WGIV
  - Durham—WSRC
  - Fayetteville—WFAI
  - Winston-Salem—WAAA
- South Carolina:
  - Charleston—WPAL
  - Columbia—WOIC
  - Greenville—WFBC
- Tennessee:
  - Chattanooga—WMFS
  - Jackson—WJAK
  - Memphis—WDIA, WHBG, WLOK
  - Nashville—WLAC, WVOL
- Texas:
  - Beaumont—KJET
  - Houston—KCOH, KYOK
  - Tyler—KZEY
- Virginia:
  - Norfolk—WRAP
  - Richmond—WANT
- West Virginia:
  - Beckley—WWAR

All of these stations employed black disc jockeys, although in the earliest days of the rhythm-and-blues format many Southern stations preferred using white disc jockeys to play music for their black listeners. In 1951, a *Billboard* article proclaimed, "Numerous Dixie outlets have added Negro personnel in the past year or so, and these stations report no friction among members of their mixed staffs." The article cited integrated personnel at Winston-Salem's WAAA, Memphis' WDIA, Birmingham's WEDR, Atlanta's WERD and New Orleans' WMRY.[36]

The Midwest

In the Midwest, greater Detroit 's WCHB became the first black-owned, Negro-appeal station when a local dentist named Harley Bell purchased the station in 1956. Bell's program director, Larry Dean Faulkner, recruited a distinguished crew of disc jockeys including "Joltin" Joe Howard from Houston, Martha Jean "The Queen" Steinberg from Memphis and George White from Cincinnati.[37] Howard, whose voice was the first one heard on WCHB, had been doing his "Beehive" show at Houston's KNUZ since 1953.[38]

Despite its talented disc jockeys, however, WCHB operated at a financial loss and was reportedly $100,000 in debt at the decade's end.[39] By that time, Howard had joined "Senator" Bristoe Bryant and "Frantic" Ernie Durham to form "The Three Disc-A-Teers" at Detroit's other rhythm-and-blues station, WJLB.[40]

Chicago was another important center of rhythm-and-blues radio. It was there that Jack L. Cooper and Al Benson developed the brokerage system into a fine art. Their shows filled large blocks of radio time that they purchased from various Chicago stations. They also employed "satellite" disc jockeys to work the hours that they could not handle personally. Cooper 's brokerage interests grew from one hour on a single station in 1930 to forty-seven hours a week on four Chicago radio stations in 1947. Meanwhile, Benson was on his way to becoming one of the most innovative and successful disc jockeys in rhythm-and-blues radio. By 1948, Benson had already saturated Chicago 's air waves with ten hours a day of Negro-appeal programming on WBEE, WGES, WAAF, WAIT and WJJD. He also bought air time on Indiana stations WWCA in Gary and WIMS in Michigan City.[41] Chicago's first Negro-appeal station was WBEE. Under its corporate structure, WBEE's sales executives sold advertising time directly to sponsors and hired disc jockeys. The same thing occurred at WGES in 1963 when the MacLendon Corporation of Dallas purchased the station and summarily replaced the brokers with salaried disc jockeys. This terminated the satellite era, a situation that severely diminished the income of Chicago 's more enterprising disc jockeys.[42]

Chicago's rhythm-and-blues stations had a tremendous impact on the city 's radio audience, especially in predominantly black neighborhoods. Singer Johnny Keyes of the Magnificents recalled the impression made by his group's mentor, disc Jockey Nathaniel "Magnificent" Montague:

> Howard "Moo Moo" Miller was the morning giant on WMAQ until the "magnificent" one hit town and changed WAAF's morning sound. "Moo Moo" would blast the air waves with a "killer" by Mitch Miller. Montague would open up early in the morning with Buddy and Ella Johnson, followed by organ music played softly and sweetly underneath poetry recited into the microphone. This would segue into Ray Charles singing "Drown in My Own Tears." "Moo Moo's" morning drive domination was no more.[43]

Besides Chicago and Detroit, the Midwest's other major Negro-appeal stations were in

Cincinnati, Cleveland and St. Louis. Overall, these stations were the leading rhythm-and-blues outlets in the Midwest:

- Illinois:
  - Chicago—WBEE, WGES
  - East St. Louis—WAMV
- Indiana:
  - Gary—WGRY
  - Indianapolis—WGEE
- Michigan:
  - Detroit—WCHB, WJLB
- Missouri:
  - Kansas City—KCKN
  - St. Louis, KATZ—KXLW
- Ohio:
  - Cincinnati—WCIN
  - Cleveland—WABQ, WERE, WJW
  - Columbus—WVKO
- Wisconsin:
  - Milwaukee—WMIL

Audiences in large Midwestern cities, such as Chicago and Detroit, had access to stations that broadcast rhythm and blues on a full-time schedule. In other areas, including Indianapolis, Kansas City and Milwaukee, local stations featured rhythm and blues only part of the time.

The Northeast

In the Northeast, the first full-time, Negro-appeal radio station in metropolitan New York City was actually located in New Jersey. During 1954, Rollins Broadcasting Company purchased 5,000-watt WNJR in Newark from the Newark News for a reported $140, 000. The station broadcast nineteen hours a day of rhythm and blues, gospel, news and sports—all geared toward a black audience.[44] *Billboard* magazine announced that WNJR was building an all-black staff of disc jockeys that included Ramon Bruce, Babs Gonzales, Charlie Green, George Hudson, Hal Jackson and Hal Wade.[45] The station also broadcast three taped versions of programs with prominent white disc jockeys. The tapes featured Alan Freed from Cleveland, Hunter Hancock from California and Zenas "Daddy" Sears from Atlanta.[46]

Ramon Bruce, who also worked at Newark's WAAT and Philadelphia's WHAT, is remembered for making public appearances clad in black Bermuda shorts and white knee socks.[47] His attire could have been the inspiration for two popular 1950s songs, "Bermuda Shorts" by the Delroys and "Knee Socks" by the Ideals.

Across the Hudson River from Newark, the distinction of being the first Negro-appeal station to broadcast from within New York City belonged to WLIB. Specializing in minority and foreign-language programming, WLIB had been entertaining its black listeners since the late 1940s.

During its earlier years, WLIB produced programs in several languages including Yiddish, Polish and Spanish. In fact, WLIB's print advertisements in the late 1950s still gave top billing to its Jewish programming. The advertisements stated that WLIB was "geared to reach the more than two-and-a-half million English-speaking Jewish people" and "the more than one million Negro people" in the New York area. The advertising copy also noted that WLIB was the first station to broadcast "Jewish-American themes . . . Hebrew and Israeli music, news and special features . . . of interest to all Jewish Americans." This was followed with the announcement, "For the Negro people WLIB features top Negro talent, music, local news, Negro sports roundup, plus community programs and special features."[48]

WLIB eventually expanded its Negro-appeal schedule to feature "Negro time" from 6:30 a.m. to noon and from 5:30 p.m. to its varying sign-off times in the evening. In between, it scheduled "Anglo-Jewish Time" from 4 to 5:30 p.m. The station's Negro-appeal programming included Hal Jackson's "House that Jack Built," Lloyd Williams's "Harlem Serenade," Charles Campbell's "Community News" and Larry Fuller's "Gospel Train."[49]

By the end of the decade, WLIB had adopted a rhythm-and-blues format that devoted 93 percent of its broadcast time to Negro-appeal programming. Broadcasting at a modest 1,000-watts, it relocated to the Hotel Theresa on Seventh Avenue to become the only commercial radio station with studios in Harlem. An advertisement in the 1960 *Radio Annual* boasted that WLIB had "more Negro listeners than any New York station." It added, "WLIB is the first New York station broadcasting Negro community news and special events on a regularly scheduled basis—every hour and every half hour."[50] WLIB went on to distinguish itself as a Peabody Award-winning resource of New York's black community.[51]

Other Negro-appeal broadcasters serving New York City included WEVD, WHOM, WOV and WWRL. At first, these stations shared the city's entire rhythm-and-blues audience. But in the late 1950s, they encountered a challenge from a source that would have been unthinkable during the early days of rhythm and blues. The new competition came from general market radio

The first of New York City' s mainstream stations to have a major impact was WINS. An all-white announcing staff played the top hits of the day regardless of genre, including rhythm and blues. Former WINS program director Rick Sklar recalled, "The new WINS hit the air in September of 1957 with sharp jingles, screaming contests and promotions, and Top Forty music. The city had never heard anything like it."[52]

The biggest coup scored by WINS was the acquisition of disc jockey Alan Freed. The station's management wisely permitted the former Clevelander to deviate from the station's playlist and choose his own material. For the most part, Freed disdained white cover records and played original versions of rhythm-and-blues hits for his largely white audience. When the show created a sensation and drew nationwide publicity, disc jockeys throughout the country tried to duplicate Freed's success by playing authentic rhythm and blues, thereby destroying the market for white cover records.[53]

The ascension of WINS encouraged many imitators to compete for Top-40 supremacy in New York City. These stations included WABC, WMCA and WMGM.

Meanwhile, in upstate New York, a profusion of radio stations played rhythm and blues. In Buffalo, the competition included WEBR, 50,000-watt WKBW, WUFO and WWOL

In a few cases, the Negro-appeal stations actively pursued a following among white listeners. In 1957, one of these stations was described by *Time* magazine as "possibly the loudest and zaniest radio station in the U.S.A." The station was WILY in Pittsburgh, a station whose white listeners outnumbered its black listeners by a three-to-one margin. In an attempt to distance itself from its former reputation as a Negro-appeal station, WILY changed its call letters to WEEP and promoted itself as a general market station. This entailed replacing all but one of its black personalities with white disc jockeys. The lone exception was "Sir" Walter Raleigh, who later left the station to join Pittsburgh 's Negro-appeal WAMO. Raleigh was a favorite among Pittsburgh 's black disc jockeys because of his pseudo-British patter. He would entertain his audience by saying, "Well, chaps, that 's the way the mop flops. Lads . . . we 're feeling rather geometric this afternoon. Yes, indeedy, we have happy sounds; a jolly good show."[54]

In eastern Pennsylvania, Philadelphia had competing Negro-appeal stations in WDAS and WHAT. This area produced some of the country 's most popular rhythm-and-blues disc jockeys, including Douglas "Jocko" Henderson and George Woods.

These Northeastern stations were among the region's leaders in broadcasting rhythm and blues:

New Jersey:
    Newark—WNJR
New York:
    Buffalo—WEBR, WKBW, WUFO, WWOL
    New York City—WEVD, WHOM, WLIB, WOV, WWRL
Pennsylvania:
    Philadelphia—WDAS, WHAT
    Pittsburgh—WAMO, WHOD, WILY

Outside of the Middle Atlantic sector, there were few Negro-appeal stations in the Northeast.

New Englanders either tried to receive New York stations on their radios or had to settle for the rhythm and blues included in other formats.

The Far West

Nearly all of the Negro-appeal radio activity in the West was in California. Its three major rhythm-and-blues stations were KDIA in Oakland-San Francisco, KSAN in San Francisco, and KGFJ in Los Angeles. The latter had a racially integrated announcing staff throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. Its line-up included Herman Griffith, Hunter Hancock, Johnny Magnus, former Chicagoan Nathaniel "Magnificent" Montague, Jim Randolph, Charles Trammell and Jim Wood.

Hancock, one of the most historically important West Coast disc jockeys, worked for other Southern California stations besides KGFJ. A white disc jockey, he began playing "race" records during the 1940s on KFVD in Los Angeles.

Two other disc jockeys from the early days of rhythm and blues were Joe Adams and Dick "Huggie Boy" Hugg. Adams, who worked for KOWL in Santa Barbara during World War II, may have been the first disc jockey to play rhythm and blues in Southern California.[55] Hugg, who was a teen-ager when he performed his late-night show on KRKD, did many of his programs live from John Dolphin's record shop in Hollywood.[56]

Other prominent West Coast disc jockeys who played rhythm and blues during the 1950s included Jackie Ford at KSAN in San Francisco, live-show promoter Gene Norman at KLAC in Los Angeles and both Dave Polk and Johnny Otis at KFOX in Los Angeles.[57]

Later, during the 1960s, ultra-high-power "border radio" stations from Mexico could be heard throughout the Southwest during the late-night hours. Through the years, these border stations have continued to specialize in 1950s rhythm and blues. For instance, Dick Hugg was still broadcasting vintage rhythm and blues during the 1980s at border station XEM in Monterey.[58]

But back in the 1950s, rhythm-and-blues fans in the West who lived outside of Los Angeles or San Francisco were lucky if they could find a station that handled the music on a part-time basis. Aside from KDIA, KGFJ and KSAN, all of the following stations featured Negro-appeal programming on a part-time schedule only:

Arizona:
    Phoenix—KCAC
California:
    Berkeley—KRE
    Fresno—KGST
    Long Beach—KGER
    Los Angeles—KGFJ
    Napa—KVON

- San Francisco-Oakland—KDIA, KSAN
- San Gabriel—KALI
- San Rafael—KTIM

Nevada:

- Las Vegas—KLAS
- Reno—KENO

New Mexico:

- Hobbs—KWEW

Oregon:

- Portland—KWJJ

Washington:

- Seattle—KTW

In the late-1950s, rhythm and blues also was an important part of the programming at rock-'n'-roll and Top-40 radio stations in this region.

Conclusion

In the years following WDIA's debut in 1948, the concept of Negro-appeal radio spread to almost every sizable radio market in the country. Only six years after WDIA's entrance into the Memphis market, *Sponsor* magazine 's 1954 Buyer's Guide to Negro-appeal radio listed 374 such stations. In 1959, *Sponsor's* roster totaled 832 without taking into account a larger number of stations that were giving air time to rhythm and blues on derivative formats such as rock 'n' roll and Top-40.[59]

The success of rhythm-and-blues radio demonstrated that the radio medium could survive despite competition from television. The emphasis shifted, however, from mass coverage by network radio to segmented formats that appealed to specific groups with particular tastes. As a consequence, many specialized formats were able to replicate the success of rhythm-and-blues radio. These formats included rock 'n' roll, Top-40, country-and-western and soul music, the latter a successor of rhythm-and-blues radio that emerged during the mid-1960s.

# # #

NOTES

1. Classic rhythm and blues, originally called "race music," thrived during this period. *Billboard* magazine originated its "race" and rhythm and blues" popularity charts in 1945. The publication discontinued its rhythm-and-blues charts in November 1963 because the editors felt that the music had been absorbed by the era's pop music, which was being played on Top-40 radio stations. *Billboard* covered the entire Top-40 spectrum in its "Hot 100" chart. By the time *Billboard* resurrected its R&B chart in 1965, the focus of black popular music had changed from classic rhythm and blues to the newer genre called "soul." Despite the change, "rhythm and blues" continued to be used as a generic phrase that referred to any kind of music that was popular among black audiences. See Joel Whitburn, *Joel Whitburn's Top R&B Singles, 1942-1988* (Menomonee Falls, Wisc.: Record Research, 1988), 13-15.

2. For a description of rhythm-and-blues music, see Lynn Ellis McCutcheon, *Rhythm and Blues: An Experience and Adventure in its Origins and Development* (Arlington, Va.: Beatty, 1971). For information about rhythm-and-blues recordings, see Big Al Pavlow, *The R & B Book: A Disc-History of Rhythm and Blues* (Providence, R.I.: Music House, 1983).

3. For information about the "Make Believe Ballroom" format, see Robert G. White Jr., "Martin Block and WNEW: The Rise of the Recorded Music Radio Format 1934-1954" (Ph.D. diss., Bowling Green State University, 1981).

4. WDIA in Memphis is the subject of Louis Cantor, *Wheelin' on Beale: How WDIA-Memphis Became the Nation's First All-Black Radio Station and Created the Sound that Changed America* (New York: Pharos, 1992). Also see William Barlow, "Commercial and Noncommercial Radio," chap. in Jannette L. Dates and William Barlow, eds., *Split Image: African Americans in the Mass Media* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 1990), 209-12; and Wes Smith, *The Pied Pipers of Rock 'n' Roll: Radio Deejays of the 50s and 60s* (Marietta. Ga: Longstreet, 1989), 124-29.

5. Nat D. Williams also worked as a columnist for *The Memphis World* newspaper, where he once wrote that WDIA's owners were more motivated by profit than sympathy for black people. See Barlow, "Commercial and Noncommercial Radio," 210.

6. Charles Sawyer, *The Arrival of B.B. King* (New York: Da Capo, 1980), 62.

7. Theo "Bless My Bones" Wade acquired his unusual nickname when he accidentally spilled hot coffee on himself during a broadcast. He exclaimed, "Doggone, bless my bones, I knocked over my coffee." See Cantor, *Wheelin' on Beale,* 100.

8. Barlow, "Commercial and Noncommercial Radio," 210-11.

9. "B.B." King's 1949 hits for the Tennessee-based Bulleit label included "I Got the Blues" and "When Your Baby Packs Up and Goes." Bulleit recorded many prominent black performers including Cecil Gant, Wynonie Harris, Guitar Slim and Roosevelt Sykes.

10. Sawyer, *The Arrival of B.B. King,* 62-64

11. Cantor, *Wheelin' on Beale,* 134; and Smith, *The Pied Pipers of Rock 'n' Roll,* 128-29. Part of the rhyme is adapted from the lyrics to the record "Loose As a Goose" by Cecil Gant, the flip side of a 1946 regional hit called "Nashville Jumps."

12. Nelson George, *The Death of Rhythm and Blues* (New York: Pantheon, 1988), 49.

13. Cantor, *Wheelin' on Beale,* 92.

14. Smith, *The Pied Pipers of Rock 'n' Roll,* 126.

15. George, *Death of Rhythm and Blues,* 49.

16. Margaret McKee and Fred Chisenhall, *Beale Street Black and Blue* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University), 94, cited in Barlow, "Commercial and Noncommercial Radio," 210.

17. Sawyer, *The Arrival of B.B. King,* 61.

18. "Notes from the R.&B. Beat," *Billboard,* Dec. 1954; reprinted in Galen Gart, ed., *First Pressings: The History of Rhythm and Blues, Vol. 4, 1954* (Milford, N.H.: Big Nickel, 1990), 129; and "Station WDIA's Goodwill Revue Skedding Another Bill of Top Talent," *Billboard,* 1 Dec. 1956; reprinted in Galen Gart, ed., *First Pressings: The History of Rhythm and Blues, Vol. 6, 1956* (Milford, N.H.: Big Nickel, 1991), 150.

19. Cantor, *Wheelin' on Beale,* 149.

20. Erik Barnouw, *The Golden Web: A History of Broadcasting in the United States* (New York: Oxford University, 1968), 289.

21. Barlow, "Commercial and Noncommercial Radio," 213.

22. George, *Death of Rhythm and Blues,* 44-45.

23. Barnouw, *The Golden Web,* 289.

24. Jack Gibson, "Black Trivia," *Jack the Rapper,* 10 Apr. 1991, 24.

25. Smith, *The Pied Pipers of Rock 'n' Roll,* 108.

26. Ibid., 77.

27. Cantor, *Wheelin' on Beale,* 165.

28. Bernard E. Garnett, *How Soulful is "Soul" Radio?* (Nashville, Tenn: Race Relations Information Center, 1970), 9, cited in R. Dwight Bachman, *Dynamics of Black Radio: A Research Report* (Washington, D.C.: Creative Universal Products, Inc., 1977), 13; and "Spinners Capture Big White Audience" *Ebony,* Dec. 1947, 49.

29. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S .Census of the Population: 1950*, vol. 2, *Characteristics of the Population,* Part I, United States Summary (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953), 138-39; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of the Population: 1960,* vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population,* Part I, United States Summary (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), 176-78.

30. "Negro Population in 47 U.S. Cities," *Sponsor,* 26 Sept. 1960, 20.

31. "Negro 'Voice ' is Heard," *Sponsor,* 26 Aug. 1963, 10.

32. "Their Community Roots Are Spreading," *Sponsor,* 9 Oct. 1961, 37.

33. "Negro 'Voice' is Heard," 10.

34. See "WOOK-TV Is Flourishing with 100% Negro Schedule," *Sponsor,* 26 Aug. 1963, 15-16, 20.

35. The lists in this chapter were based, in part, on *Sponsor's* annual "Negro Station Profiles." Also see a 1959 list of stations that offered Negro-appeal programming at least 50 percent of the time, "Negro Station Programming," *Sponsor,* 26 Sept. 1959, 36-38.

36. *Billboard,* 24 Feb. 1951; reprinted in Galen Gart, ed., *First Pressings: The History of Rhythm and Blues, Vol. 2, 1950-1951* (Milford, N.H.: Big Nickel, 1986), 553.

37. Barlow, "Commercial and Noncommercial Radio," 214.

38. Smith, *The Pied Pipers of Rock 'n' Roll,* 135-36.

39. Cora Selman-Earnest, "Black Owned Radio and Television Stations in the United States from 1950-1982: A Descriptive Study" (Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University, 1985), 86.

40. WJLB advertisement in *Sponsor,* 26 Sept. 1960, 37.

41. Richard S. Kahlenberg, "Negro Radio," *The Negro History Bulletin* 29, no. 6, (March 1966), 128. Although Al Benson performed on WAAF in Chicago, it should be noted that this was a station that did not use a rhythm-and-blues format. WAAF chose to broadcast jazz and adult-oriented music for its older, middle-class black audience. For a comprehensive analysis of Chicago 's Negro-appeal radio, see Norman W. Spaulding, "The History of Black-Oriented Radio in Chicago, 1929-1963" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1981).

42. Kahlenberg, "Negro Radio," 142; and Spaulding, "History of Black-Oriented Radio in Chicago, 1929-1963," 49-50.

43. Johnny Keyes, *Du-Wop* (Chicago: Vesti, 1987), 28.

44. Arnold Passman, *The Deejays* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), 186.

45. "All-Negro Staff for WNJR," *Billboard,* 14 Nov. 1953; reprinted in Galen Gart, ed., *First Pressings: The History of Rhythm and Blues, Vol. 3, 1953* (Milford, N.H.: Big Nickel, 1989), 90.

46. Smith, *The Pied Pipers of Rock 'n' Roll,* 73.

47. "Notes from the R.&B. Beat," *Billboard,* Oct. 1956; reprinted in Gart, ed., *First Pressings, Vol. 6,* 133.

48. WLIB advertisements in *Radio Annual* from 1950 to 1960. See *Radio Annual* (New York: Radio-and-Television Pub.)

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51 Fred Ferretti, "The White Captivity of Black Radio," *Columbia Journalism Review* 9, no. 2 (Summer 1970): 35.

52. Rick Sklar, *Rocking America: An Insider's Story* (New York: St. Martin's, 1984), 28. At the time, Sklar was assistant program director at WINS.

53. John A. Jackson, *Big Beat Heat: Alan Freed and the Early Years of Rock & Roll* (New York: Schirmer, 1991), 77-80.

54. "Radio & Television," *Time,* 7 Oct. 1957, 62-64.

55. Mark Newman, *Entrepreneurs of Profit and Pride: From Black-Appeal to Radio Soul* (New York: Praeger, 1988), 86.

56. Smith, *The Pied Pipers of Rock 'n' Roll,* 78-80.

57. Steve Propes, interview by author, by telephone, Long Beach, Calif., 16 Aug. 1992; and Bill Earl, interview by author, by telephone, Montebello, Calif., 16 Aug. 1992.

58. For a comprehensive look at border radio, see Gene Fowler and Bill Crawford, *Border Radio* (Austin, Texas: Austin Monthly Press, 1987).

59. "Negro-Appeal Radio's Getting the Business," *Sponsor,* 26 Sept. 1959, 10.

MEDIA USE HABITS OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS IN A SMALL MIDWESTERN CITY

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In the changing world of mass media, print and broadcast executives are trying to determine how to get an edge on the competition. They are looking for ways to get more readers, viewers and listeners and the answer could be right under their noses. But they have to be willing to make the necessary changes to capture a neglected audience - African-Americans. This pilot study seeks to determine what types of media, if any, African-Americans residents of a small Midwestern city choose for news and what factors affect their choice.

Do African-Americans read, watch and listen to the mainstream media or do they read local African-American newspapers, or both? If they do use both, how often and why?

This study also attempts to determine why African-Americans in this community choose one medium rather than another for its news.

The study examines whether local news coverage of African-Americans affects which media outlet they use. Do the local mainstream media provide enough news coverage of the African-American community? Does the type of coverage affect media use?

Also, what effect does education, socio-economic level, and interest have on the media African-Americans prefer?

This study explores media use patterns of African-Americans in Columbia, Missouri, a city of 74,072 people. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, African-Americans make up about 10 percent of Columbia's population.

The television market, with three network affiliates and one independent station, is ranked 149th in the 1995 Broadcasting and Cable Yearbook. The two mainstream newspapers, the Columbia Missourian and the Columbia Daily Tribune, have circulations under 20,000. Two local African-American newspapers also circulate in Columbia, the Community Voice and the Mid-Missouri BlackWatch. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the Kansas City Star distribute state editions in the Columbia area. The New York Times, the Chicago Tribune, USA Today and the Wall Street Journal are also available.

Purpose of the study

This is an exploratory study, but its results can be used by media managers to diversify coverage to include African-Americans.

The significance of this study is to revise, extend and create knowledge of the media use habits of African-Americans in a small community. This study only addresses the media use habits of African Americans. Researchers have studied the negative portrayal of African Americans by the mainstream media, but there has been little research on the effects of negative portrayal on the use of the media by African Americans.

Researchers have found that African-American newspaper readership has remained the same in the past 15 years while white readership has decreased.[1]

Knowing what media African-American consumers use and why can give a media outlet a competitive edge over another. The results of this study also could give the African-American and mainstream media ideas on how to broaden coverage of all socio-economic groups in the African-American community. Based on this knowledge marketing plans could be develop to increase the number of African-Americans using a particular media outlet for news and information. The more they use a particular media outlet, the more attractive that outlet looks to potential advertisers.

This study will also give the mainstream media information it could use to improve coverage of African-Americans. The mainstream media continues to present African-Americans in stereotypical images. As witnessed in the coverage of the 1992 Los Angeles riots, little has changed in the news coverage of African-Americans. Mary Lou Fulton, an editor at the Los Angeles Times, summed up the mainstream media's coverage of African-Americans this way:

> News coverage of minority communities tended toward the murders-and-festivals syndrome, where the only time you ever see people from the city in the news is when they are killing one another in terribly violent ways or taking breathers at various ethnic festivals.[2]

The Kerner Commission said 27 years ago that coverage of racial unrest in the United States was adequate, but the coverage of the events and circumstances that caused the unrest was inadequate. The commission also said that negative coverage "contributed to the black-white schism in this country."[3]

Negative coverage by the media has sparked African-Americans to protest outside broadcast stations and newspapers. African-Americans have also opposed renewal of Federal Communication Commission licenses for broadcast stations. If African-Americans don't like what they hear, see and read, they may not use it.

Theoretical Background

The two main points of this study are what type of media African-Americans in a small Midwest city use for news and information and why they choose a particular media outlet to get it. This study looks at African-Americans in Columbia as an active audience. The questions posed in the survey and the focus group discussion will determine these two points. Uses and gratification and media system dependency best describe, theoretically, the focus of this study.

McQuail, Blumler, and Brown classified audience needs and gratifications as follows:

> 1. Diversion (escape from routine and problems; emotional release).
> 2. Personal relationships (social utility of information in conversations: substitute of the media for companionship).
> 3. Personal identity or individual psychology (value reenforcement or reassurance; self-understanding; reality exploration, etc.).
> 4. Surveillance (information about things which might affect one or will help one do or accomplish something).[4]

This study explores each one of these concepts; however, person identity/individual, diversion and surveillance will be addressed in more depth than personal relationships.

Katz, Gurevitch and Hass (1973) stated that the mass media are used by individuals to connect or disconnect themselves with others.[5]

Uses and gratifications "provides a framework for understanding when and how different media consumers become more or less active and what the consequences of that increased or decreased involvement may be."[6]

African Americans in Columbia have a choice as to what media they will use or if they will use any media at all. Those choices are based on the individual needs, which vary depending on what gratification a particular person is seeking.

Baran and Davis point out that "people can use the same content in very different ways and therefore the same content could have very different consequences. Viewing movies that show violent treatment of minorities could reinforce some people's negative attitudes and lead others to be more supportive of minority rights."[7]

However, just as negative portrayals of African-Americans can reinforce stereotypes in the minds of other societal groups, it can also affirm African-Americans' belief that media coverage of them is unfair. Individual African-Americans may choose to do something about the problem by not using media outlets they perceive to portray their culture or other minority cultures negatively.

Another applicable theory, media system dependency, as defined by Baran and Davis, states that the more dependent a person is on having his or her needs gratified by media, the more important the role media will play in the person's life and, therefore, the more influence those media will have on that person.[8]

DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach presented four assertions related to media system dependency that address the direct relationship between the amount of dependency and the degree of media influence at any given time.

> The basis of media influence lies in the relationship between the larger social system, the media's role in that system, and audience relationship to the media.
>
> The degree of audience dependence on media information is the key variable in understanding when and why media messages alter audience beliefs, feelings, or behavior.
>
> In our industrial society, we are becoming increasingly dependent on the media (a) to understand the social world, (b) to act meaningfully and effectively in society, and for fantasy and escape.
>
> The greater the need and consequently the stronger the dependency ... the greater the likelihood that the media and their messages will have an effect.[9]

This study will determine the level of influence the local media have among African Americans in Columbia and also what relationship may exist between the two. The study will also determine whether the media are providing news and information that African Americans believe is vital to them and whether the news and information provided alters the way an individual African American in Columbia views society.

The degree of dependency varies from person to person and between different socio-economic groups. Those who are highly integrated in a community may need the media more than those who are on the fringes.[10]

Literature Review

There has been little study of the media use patterns of African-Americans. Studies that have been done were performed in urban areas with significant African-American populations.

In contrast to many of the earlier studies, a survey by Gerald Stone (1994) found that newspaper readership among young African-Americans was the same as that for young whites. The study also indicated that newspaper readership is higher among African-Americans, age 18 to 34, than whites the same age.[11]

This goes against many of the results found in previous media use studies. Those findings state that:

* African Americans read the newspaper less often than whites.[12]

* Race is a predictor of newspaper readership with readership among blacks and other ethnic minorities is lower than whites.[13]

* More whites subscribe to newspapers than blacks; low-income whites read the newspaper more than African-Americans.[14]

Stone's study contradicts these statements, except for the last one. Stone states that the inclusion of educational levels in his study helped disprove many of the findings of previous research.[15]

Stone also found that Newspaper in Education programs that began in the late 1970s have contributed to increased readership among African-Americans.

Another study showed that Newspaper in Education programs did not affect white college students' newspaper use, but that African-American students exposed to NIE increased their use of newspapers.[16]

A newspaper readership study of adolescents showed that African-American youth spent less time reading the newspaper during the week. However, when African-American teens did read the paper, they spent more time with it than white teenagers.

The study also determined that availability is a major problem for African-Americans who want to read the newspaper. Newspapers often are not distributed in predominantly African-American neighborhoods, so the opportunity to establish a newspaper reading habit is hindered.

However, when African-American teenagers have an opportunity to read the newspaper their attitude toward it is positive and their use of it is intense.[17]

A Brown, Childers, Bauman and Koch survey showed that young African-Americans are heavy users of radio and television. The authors of the study stated that one reason for this could be the possible isolation from other sources of information. African-American children also may feel isolated from the mainstream and turn to radio and television to get a glimpse of the rest of the world.[18]

A 1994 focus group study of African-American residents of

Columbia revealed that the local dailies do not distribute in the two areas of Columbia that are predominantly African-American, but there is no evidence that residents of these areas do not want subscriptions to the newspapers.[19]

The lack of access to mainstream newspapers in the city could also be a contributing factor to the need of African-Americans to find alternative sources for news and information about their community.

However, the content of the newspapers does not reflect all the communities they serve. The information provided in the pages of most daily newspapers is geared to middle-class whites. To increase minority readership, newspapers must provide regular and consistent coverage of news and information that will appeal to minorities.

A recent survey of African-American newspaper readership showed that a majority of those who read African-American newspapers also subscribe to mainstream newspapers. A majority also said they read an African-American newspaper because it provided information that is not available in the mainstream press.[20]

Newspaper studies make up most of the literature on media use among African-Americans. The television and radio use studies mainly deal with entertainment programming. The television studies often focus on information that is already known, specifically that African-Americans watch more television than whites and other ethnic groups.

Method and hypothesis

Three data gathering procedures were used in this study: a telephone survey, a focus group and personal interviews. Telephone numbers were drawn using a random digit dialing computer program.

The list was supplemented with telephone numbers of African-American faculty and staff at the University of Missouri-Columbia. Telephone numbers were also provided by a community activist.

More than 4,000 phone calls were made over a four-week period. One hundred and fifty-six households chose to answer the survey and 152 surveys were analyzed.

The survey questionnaire had a series of multiple choice questions. The questionnaire also had Likert-scale questions that measured responses to statements related to media use.

The results of the survey research were used to formulate questions for the focus group discussion.

Six women participated in the focus group discussion. To get African-American males' perspective on media use, two personal interviews were conducted with men who responded to the survey.

This study was designed to explore the following:

* Television is the most used source for news and information by African-Americans.

* Upper-income and middle-income African-Americans read newspapers more than low-income African-Americans.

* African-Americans perceive that little information of interest to them is provided by the local mainstream media.

* African-Americans reduce their usage of local media outlets in which they perceive negative portrayal of African-Americans occurs.

* African-Americans mainly use television and radio for entertainment and diversion, and newspapers for advertisements.

Results

Of the 152 respondents to the survey, 59.9 percent stated that television was the medium they used most for news and information. Twenty-eight percent chose newspapers. Only 7.2 percent chose radio.

(INSERT TABLE 1)

The Tribune was chosen overwhelmingly as the medium used most for news and information about events of interest to African-Americans. Respondents said they get more information from other sources, such as word of mouth and church fliers, than they do from local media outlets. The Missourian and KOMU-TV each were chosen by 11.2 percent of the respondents. The Community Voice was selected by 9.9 percent.

(INSERT TABLE 2)

When asked which outlet does the best job of accurately portraying African-Americans, 15.8 percent of the respondents picked the Tribune, 14.5 percent selected the Missourian and 13.2 percent said KOMU-TV. About 12 percent of the respondents said that no media outlet in Columbia did a good job of accurately portraying African-Americans. About 13 percent said they didn't know or had no opinion.

The Community Voice was chosen by 7.9 percent of the respondents. The other media outlets combined were chosen by about 20 percent of the respondents.

(INSERT TABLE 3)

A cross tabulation of income by the media the respondents chose indicates that about 70 percent of those who make less than $25,000 a year use television most often. About 30 percent said they use newspapers. About 60 percent of the respondents who earn more than $25,000 a year stated they use television most often, while about 30 percent said they use newspapers more than any other media.

(INSERT TABLE 4)

The survey results show that African-Americans use television more than newspapers and radio for news and information. However, when it comes to local news African-Americans in Columbia use the two newspapers more than television.

The Tribune, KOMU-TV and the Columbia Missourian rate about equal in relation to accurate portrayal of African-Americans. Respondents had little confidence in the local mainstream media to report accurately on the events in their communities. The results also indicate that the local mainstream media provide little news and information of interest to African-Americans.

African-Americans in low income brackets use newspapers just as much as middle-income and high-income African-Americans.

Comments from the focus group participants and the interviews mirror the survey results in several ways. Most got their news and information from television, except for local news. They all read the two mainstream newspapers and the Community Voice; however, the participants over the age of 35 read the newspaper more than those under 35 years old. The under-35s said they watched television more because of time constraints.

The older participants said they read newspapers because they provide more depth, but that the two local newspapers provide little news that is of interest to them.

The participants said local media outlets present a distorted and negative view of African-Americans. This type of coverage causes African-Americans to move from medium to medium in search of news that is of interest to them and does not offend them.

Conclusion

This study tested several hypotheses and provide information about the media use habits of African-Americans in a small city.

The findings suggest that television is the most-used source. The findings also support the hypothesis that African-

Americans perceive that little information of interest to them is provided by the local mainstream media.

The third hypothesis, that African-Americans reduce their use of media outlets in which they perceive negative portrayal, is also supported. So is the hypothesis that African-Americans mainly use television and radio for entertainment and newspapers for advertisements. About 70 percent of the survey respondents said they use newspapers more for advertisements about food and clothing than for news. Every focus group participants said they watch television more for entertainment than for news and they only listen to the radio for music.

The one hypothesis not supported by this study is that upper-income African-Americans read newspapers more than lower-income African-Americans.

The number of respondents with a high school diploma or better may explain why newspaper use between the two income groups is the same. Also information from the focus group discussion indicates that older people read more newspapers than younger people, and there were more older respondents. There also were more survey respondents who stated they earned less than $25,000. More research is needed to determine whether other factors may contribute to equal newspaper use by the two income groups.

Television is the medium used most by African-Americans in Columbia. However, they use it more for entertainment and diversion than for local news. When they do watch local television news, they find little of interest to them. They watch because it is easier and faster than reading a newspaper. However, African-Americans use local television news more for weather and sports than for other information.

When African-Americans in Columbia want local news they turn to the two mainstream newspapers. When asked about their source for specific types of news, one or both of the two mainstream newspapers ranked higher than television.

Older African-Americans have a different view of the media than younger people. In the focus group discussion and the personal interviews, older African-Americans stated that the media are responsible for providing more positive coverage of African-Americans, but the community also has to hold the media accountable for such coverage.

Focus group participants under 35 said African-Americans should do more than just stop reading a particular newspaper or viewing a specific newscast. They said African-Americans should write letters and talk to editors about the problems they have with coverage of their communities.

Focus group participants suggested that some African-Americans want to set the agenda instead of allowing the media to do it. They want to give the media positive stories about African-Americans.

The older generation believes it is the media's responsibility to present the good as well as the bad news. When only negative coverage is presented it is the media's responsibility to change the negative content. Their way of protesting negative coverage is simply not to read or watch it. They are uncomfortable attacking the media establishment. One of the men said during a personal interview that "older people are used to just taking it and not fighting back. When they were coming up fighting back cost you a lot more than it does now."

Finally, the local media do not play an important role in the lives of African-Americans in Columbia. African-Americans decide whether local media outlets provide news and information that they want to use. Most of the time they choose not to use those outlets. Negative coverage is one reason, but it is not the only one. Another reason is that the media offer little of interest to them. They believe events in the African-American community are not covered with the same intensity as those in the white community. When controversial issues involving race occur in Columbia, African-Americans perceive the media will not treat them fairly.

However, despite the fact that African-Americans have this distrust they do use the local mainstream media. They may turn away from a particular newscast or newspaper because of a story they perceive is negative, but eventually they choose to use it again. The reason could be that it is the only medium in town, so sooner or later they go back.

African-Americans have several media outlets to choose from when they want news and information about issues and events that occur outside of their local area. But they have very few choices when it comes to local news. They are very dissatisfied with the choices they have.

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Table 1: Type of media used most for news and information

	Frequency	Percent
TV	91	59.9
Radio	11	7.2
Newspaper	43	28.3
Other	4	2.6
Don't know	3	2.0
Total	152	100.0

Table 2: Media outlets used most for news and information about events of interest to African-Americans

	Frequency	Percent
Tribune	34	22.4
Missourian	17	11.2
Comm. Voice	15	9.9
Blackwatch	2	1.3
KRCG	10	6.6
KMIZ	2	1.3
KOMU	17	11.2
KNLJ	1	.7
KBIA	2	1.3
KFRU	6	3.9
Other	20	13.2
None	19	12.5
Don't know	6	3.9
Refused	1	.7
Total	152	100.0

Table 3: Media outlets that do the best job of accurately portraying African-Americans

	Frequency	Percent
Tribune	24	15.8
Missourian	22	14.5
Comm. Voice	12	7.9
Blackwatch	3	2.0
KRCG	7	4.6
KMIZ	7	4.6
KOMU	20	13.2
KNLJ	3	2.0
KBIA	4	2.6
KFRU	4	2.6
Other	5	3.3
None	18	11.8
Don't know	20	13.2
Refused	3	2.0
Total	152	100.0

Table 4: Income by type of media used most often

	TV	Radio	Newspaper
Less than $24,999	68.5%	2.7%	28.8%
$25,000 and up	56.5%	15.2%	28.3%
Column Total	63.9%	7.6%	28.6%

Chi-square:6.4 Probability:.952

Entrepreneurial Images of African Americans in Advertising: An Examination of Black Enterprise Magazine

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Abstract

Black entrepreneurship is discussed from historical and contemporary perspectives. Occupational portrayals of Blacks in advertising are reviewed. A census of ads featuring Black entrepreneurs in Black Enterprise from 1970 through 1990 is described. Findings show an average of 8.2 such ads per year with increases over time. Entrepreneurs are most often used to endorse companies other than their own. Copy appeals frequently refer to obstacles faced by Black businesses, with concerns about racial exclusion being most common.

Black entrepreneurship, the private ownership and control of businesses by African Americans, aims to "enhance Black independence and pride; employ Blacks and help ease unemployment; increase the availability of services for the community; and expand the wealth in the community" (Karenga, 1993, p. 282).

Many scholars support the belief that Black entrepreneurship is the answer to African American economic power. Wallace (1993) contends that Black entrepreneurship has the potential to provide African Americans, as a group, an economic power base that has never been achieved. He describes a "triad of power" consisting of three parts: ethnic rooting, political prowess, and economic strength. He states that full integration into the American mainstream can't be achieved until this triad is complete and argues that black entrepreneurs play a critical role in completing it.

Anderson (1994) raises similar points in stating that the tradition of acting on issues and events from a social rather than a capitalistic perspective is a major impediment to African American economic empowerment. It is his belief that, "Blacks are in America and America is a capitalist nation. Thus, Blacks will have to adopt the American capitalistic approach if they are to build their economic strength" (p. 52).

Handy (1989) asserts that the importance of business development for ethnic groups is in providing greater economic and employment opportunities, and in helping to raise the standard of living in ethnic communities. Bates (1993) also stresses the importance of greater employment opportunities through Black entrepreneurship and cites data showing that 96 percent of African American entrepreneurs in urban areas employ other minorities.

While the benefits of Black entrepreneurship are apparent, the reality is that African Americans are disproportionately under-represented as owners of businesses in the United States. Although African Americans account for 12 percent of the U.S. population, they own less than three percent of the businesses in the country (Ahiarah, 1993). Furthermore, the businesses they own tend to be quite small, with African Americans owning "nearly four percent of the firms with receipts of less than $50,000 annually, but less than one percent of those with receipts of $1 million or more annually" (Feagin and Sikes, 1994, p. 189).

Certain obstacles and explanations have been offered for the paucity of African American entrepreneurs. Bates (1993) lists the lack of capitalization and threats to minority assistance programs as problems that must be overcome. Chen (1993) attributes a lack of interest in entrepreneurship among minorities to the fact that there are so few minority business owners to serve as role models. Boyd (1990) also worries that role models are important and suggests that "the visibility of black firms may be more important than their actual economic performance" (p. 129) if Blacks are to make gains as entrepreneurs.

The portrayal of African American entrepreneurs in advertising would seem to be one place where entrepreneurial role models might achieve visibility. A primary objective of the research that follows here is to consider the characteristics of entrepreneurship and to examine the prevalence of African American entrepreneurs in the advertising pages of Black Enterprise magazine.

Black Entrepreneurship in Historical Perspective

The history of Black entrepreneurship in America includes several precedents and obstacles relevant to African Americans starting and maintaining businesses today. A review of these matters is a useful starting point for considering issues related to modern Black entrepreneurship.

According to Pierce (1947), prior to the Civil War, African American businesses fell into two categories. The first consisted of free Blacks who had accumulated capital to engage in business activities. This group operated businesses in almost every area of commerce. The second category included slaves who, through their own thrift, intelligence, and the permission of their slavemasters, were able to engage in business enterprises within the community. The most common businesses owned by African Americans during this time were in retail and service areas such as catering, restaurant ownership, dressmaking and tailoring, and barber and beauty shop operation. Such lines of business had two advantages: (1) they required only small amounts of capitalization, and (2) African Americans already had a degree of experience in these areas due to their slave roles. In addition, there was virtually no competition from whites in these areas, as whites viewed most such businesses types as servile (Butler, 1991).

Through the early years of the twentieth century the types of businesses owned by African Americans did not change much. In 1944, a survey found that "two-thirds of [African American owned businesses] were beauty shops, barbershops, restaurants, grocery stores, and undertakers" (Frazier, 1957, p. 408)

One thing that did change for African American businesses was the composition of the market system in which they operated. Before 1900, African American businesses operated within the framework of the total economy and often had a primarily white clientele. After the Civil War, a segregated economy developed and segregation forced African American businesses to operate within a closed market system. The implementation of governmental programs in the form of "Jim Crow laws" often forced Black owned enterprises to move from central business districts and formed one-race markets where African American business owners could not operate outside of African American communities. Dependence on a single segment of the market required new business techniques and led to problems with financing and capitalization (Myrdal, 1944); obstacles that African American entrepreneurs continue to face a century later.

Modern Trends in Black Entrepreneurship

In the twenty year period from 1970 to 1990, the number of African American owned businesses in the U.S. grew by more than 200 percent. From a total of 163,000 such businesses in 1969, there was a steady increase to 195,000 in 1972; 231,000 in 1977; and 339,000 in 1982. By 1990 there were over 424,000 African American owned firms (Butler, 1993).

In the years since the seventies, there has also been a shift in the kinds of businesses that Black entrepreneurs are involved with. The traditional services and retail areas have begun to be replaced by Black owned businesses in the emerging services industries, particularly including wholesaling, transportation, communication, business services, insurance, real estate, and finance.

This shift toward emerging services ownership is significant to African American business development because emerging firms represent new opportunities for growth and overall impact on Black communities and economies. Whereas traditional services and retail businesses are typically small-scale and are generally started with minimal capital inputs, emerging services firms tend to be larger scale and to call for greater financial and human capital inputs. As a result, emerging services firms are thought to generate more jobs, require more educated workers, and have lower failure rates than businesses in traditional services areas (Bates, 1989).

Some Special Problems and Obstacles

Various social, economic, and bureaucratic barriers have often had to be dealt with by Black entrepreneurs. As early as 1929, Harmon, Lindsay, and Woodson pointed out that the "Negro merchant" faced particular problems, including cooperation, credit, buying power, and management skills. Frazier, in discussing factors contributing to the failure of Black businesses, echoes many of the same difficulties and adds that Black businesses usually lack good locations because, "white real estate owners prefer white businessmen" (1957, p. 410).

Dingle (1990) has pointed out that Black entrepreneurs are very much at the mercy of the federal government and presidential administrations. He credits the Nixon administration with promoting Black entrepreneurship as a means of dealing with the country's civil unrest in the late sixties and early seventies and cites Nixon's Executive Order 11458 as mandating several programs designed to advance African American economic development. Among the particular contributions of the Nixon administration listed by Dingle (1990) are the creation of the Office of Minority Business Enterprise and the implementation of noncompetitive minority set-asides. As a result of such programs, commercial banks and lending institutions were encouraged to make money available and African American businesses thrived.

The brief administration of Gerald Ford has been accused of "replacing Black capitalism with benign neglect," (Dingle, 1990, p. 164). As justification of this sentiment, Dingle (1990) refers to the drop in loans to minority businesses from $395 million under Nixon in 1974 to only $229 million under Ford in 1975.

Under the Carter administration, from 1977 through 1980, minority businesses again prospered. During this period, sales for the Black Enterprise 100 grew from $886 million to $1.53 billion (Dingle, 1990). Much of this increase came from noncompetitive set-aside contracts and from passage of the Local Public Works Capital Development Act of 1977. This legislation required that ten percent of government contracted work go to minority business owners.

When Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, it was the beginning of 12 years of Republican rule that in many ways slowed or halted the advances of African American businesses. As described by Dingle, "the Reagan administration sought to purge minority business development and affirmative action programs in the name of

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a balanced budget and a 'color-blind' America" (1990, p. 166). Among the actions and proposals of the Reagan administration were the scrapping of offices designed to assist minority entrepreneurs, a reduction in the Small Business Administration direct lending to minority businesses, and elimination of certain set-aside programs (Rice, 1993).

In a summary of the obstacles faced by Black businesses, Handy (1989) lists limited market demand, limited capital resources, limited know-how and efficiency, and racial exclusion as the four obstacles that have always been most pressing and difficult to overcome. His concern with limited market demand is based on the fact that Black owned businesses have little growth potential when they are restricted to serving the Black community. The problem of limited capital resources is rooted in discriminatory lending practices. Limited know-how and efficiency results from a lack of education and experience and can lead to operational neglect and business failure (Ahiarah, 1993). Racial exclusion includes ingrained societal prejudices that discourage or prohibit African American business development.

The Relevance of Advertising

Research on the occupational portrayals of African Americans in advertising has rarely shown them as entrepreneurs. A study by Kassarjian (1969) found that in the years between 1946 and 1965, Blacks were depicted as having laborer or service jobs. In an examination of television commercials, Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, and Wills (1977) concluded that Blacks were never shown teaching Whites, were most often presented in nonprofessional jobs, and were portrayed as having less command of technology than Whites. Humphrey and Schuman (1984) have reported that Blacks in magazine advertisements were found to be subservient to and dependent on White authority figures. Blacks have also been shown to be disproportionately over-represented as entertainers and athletes in advertising (Kern-Foxworth, 1994).

Worries about occupational stereotyping of Blacks in advertising are based in part on the notion that audiences, both Black and White, will transfer what they see in advertisements to their beliefs about the real world. Pierce et al. (1977) make this point in stating that, "both races come to expect and accept as unremarkable, that Blacks' time, energy, space, and mobility will be at the service of the White" (1977, p. 65). Merelman elaborates further in proposing that negative images of Blacks presented by media advertising can serve to alter a Black person's self concept and expectations (1995).

Research Questions and Methodology

Based on many of the issues and concerns raised above, an examination of Blacks in advertising focusing on their roles as entrepreneurs is called for. As a publication with a majority African American audience and editorial content devoted to Black business topics, Black Enterprise magazine is an appropriate vehicle for such research.

Particular research questions and variables to be studied are as follows:

1. Have there been changes over time in the frequency of ads featuring Black entrepreneurs?

2. Have there been changes in the types of businesses Black entrepreneurs are presented as involved with?
3. Will ads featuring Black entrepreneurs reflect business development obstacles through their copy or appeals?
4. What roles will Black entrepreneurs take as endorsers and advertising spokespeople?

To address these questions and to begin considering other points related to the portrayal of Black entrepreneurs in advertising, a census of all ads in Black Enterprise between the years 1970 and 1990 was conducted. The unit of analysis was the individual advertisement. Only ads at least a full page in size and featuring a photograph, cartoon, or drawing of a Black individual identified in the copy or headline as an either the owner, president, CEO, or Chairman of a business were included in the study.

All advertisements were evaluated in terms of the type of business the Black entrepreneur was involved in, their role in the ad, and the copy appeal used. Business type was a dichotomous variable, with personal services, retail, repair, and construction firms coded as "traditional business"; and firms from the transportation, communication, technology, finance, insurance, and real estate industries coded as "emerging business".

The entrepreneur's role was coded according to four exhaustive and mutually exclusive values; endorser of their own company, endorser of another company or product, minority supplier to advertiser, and recipient of support from advertiser as benefactor. The copy appeals were coded on two levels. First, copy was classified as portraying the African American entrepreneur as either needing assistance or supplying assistance. For those ads that presented the entrepreneur as needing assistance, copy was coded further according to whether the need seemed based on limited market demand, limited capital, limited know-how, or racial exclusion, the four primary obstacles to Black business success identified by Ahiarah (1993).

Coding was done by a graduate student trained in methods of content analysis. Reliability was assessed by using a second coder on a sample of the ads and having the primary coder recode the same sample. Both intracoder and intercoder reliabilities were over .90 for all variables.

Findings

A total of 173 ads featuring African American entrepreneurs were found in Black Enterprise during the years studied. At least one such ad appeared in each of the twenty-one years. There was some evidence of an increase over time, though the trend was not linear. Table One breaks down the frequency of ads with Black entrepreneurs over time.

TABLE ONE ABOUT HERE

In terms of the type of business the entrepreneurs represented, 70 were coded as being involved in traditional businesses and 100 were in emerging businesses. In three ads, business type could not be determined. There were no discernible patterns to the type of businesses included over time. The presentation of emerging businesses seemed somewhat more variable, ranging from a low of zero in 1970 to a high of 13 such ads in 1985. The frequency of traditional businesses ranged from one in

1970 to seven in 1973 and 1985.

The roles that Black entrepreneurs played in these advertisements are summarized in Table Two. They were most commonly used as endorsers of a company other than their own. The second most prominent role was as a minority supplier to the advertiser, followed by endorsers of their own company, and the recipient of support from the advertiser. Each of these roles except the recipient of support from the advertiser was found to increase in over the years studied. The recipient of support role peaked in the early eighties and then declined in use to the point where it was not found at all after 1985.

TABLE TWO ABOUT HERE

The copy in advertisements featuring African American entrepreneurs relied heavily on appeals emphasizing the need for assistance and obstacles to success among Black businesses. It was found that 106 of the ads, or 61 percent of the total, included such a message. There was a slight trend away from such appeals over the years studied, with an increasing proportion of the ads using copy that referred to the entrepreneurs as providers of assistance.

TABLE THREE ABOUT HERE

As broken down in Table Three, racial exclusion was the most often cited obstacle, followed by references to limited capital, limited know-how, and limited market demand. Among advertisements where the copy mentioned obstacles to success, there was a pattern over time with appeals based on racial exclusion becoming more and more prominent and those based on limited capital becoming less common over the twenty-one year period. It should be noted that several ads included copy appeals that brought up more than one of these obstacles.

Discussion

African American entrepreneurs were featured in the advertising pages of Black Enterprise with some regularity between 1970 and 1990. There were an average of 8.2 full page ads per year, with increases over the second half of the period studied.

No particular patterns were observed according to the presidential administration in power at any given time. But one interesting finding consistent with the contention that Black entrepreneurs benefitted from the Nixon administration (Dingle, 1990), is the peak in the number of ads with Black entrepreneurs (12) that was reached in 1973, when the Nixon administration was in its prime. After Nixon left office in 1974, the number of ads with Black entrepreneurs did not reach that level again for ten years.

Both traditional and emerging businesses are well represented in these advertisements. While it has been suggested that emerging businesses are more dynamic and have the potential for greater contributions to the employment, education, and economic standing of African Americans (Bates, 1989), it is a fact that modern Black owned businesses run the gamut of professional and industrial categories and the finding that entrepreneurs from all types of businesses are portrayed is neither surprising nor disappointing.

The roles that Black entrepreneurs have in these advertisements send different messages. The most common role, that of an endorser for a company other than the one he or she owns, might be seen as using the entrepreneur as an especially qualified expert or success story. Linking of the entrepreneur with the advertised company is something of an attempt to transfer the reputation of the entrepreneur/endorser onto the company, much like consumer advertising that uses successful Black athletes or celebrities as spokespeople. Those ads that present the entrepreneur in the role of minority business supplier or the recipient of support from the advertiser may be interpreted as somewhat condescending, as they play on the gratitude and debt owed to the advertiser in varying degrees. Ads where the entrepreneur is endorsing his or her own company might be seen as self-serving or egotistical, but in many cases they are justified statements of pride or appreciation.

Copy appeals used in advertisements that include Black entrepreneurs say a lot about the moods and concerns of African American businesses and the larger African American community. Copy based on racial exclusion as an obstacle to success was the most common appeal used throughout the period studied and increased in usage in the later years. The number of ads with copy emphasizing the limited capital appeal decreased in importance. It may be, then, that Black businesses are finally beginning to secure the capitalization and financial backing necessary to be competitive but that societal or marketplace discrimination remains a serious problem.

At least in Black Enterprise, it seems that African American entrepreneurs have some visibility in advertising. Through their presence in advertisements, they can serve as examples that might not otherwise be communicated and as role models for Blacks and other minorities aspiring to become business owners.

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Table One

Number of Ads by Year

Year	Ads
1970	1
1971	4
1972	5
1973	12
1974	6
1975	7
1976	6
1977	4
1978	3
1979	6
1980	5
1981	3
1982	5
1983	13
1984	10
1985	22
1986	15
1987	15
1988	11
1989	13
1990	7

Table Two

Entrepreneur Role in Ad

Role	Frequency
Endorser of other company	59
Minority business supplier	46
Endorser of own company	42
Recipient of support	18
Other/Not coded	8

Table Three

Obstacles Cited in Copy Appeals

Obstacle	Frequency
Racial exclusion	73
Limited capital	36
Limited know-how	27
Limited market demand	8